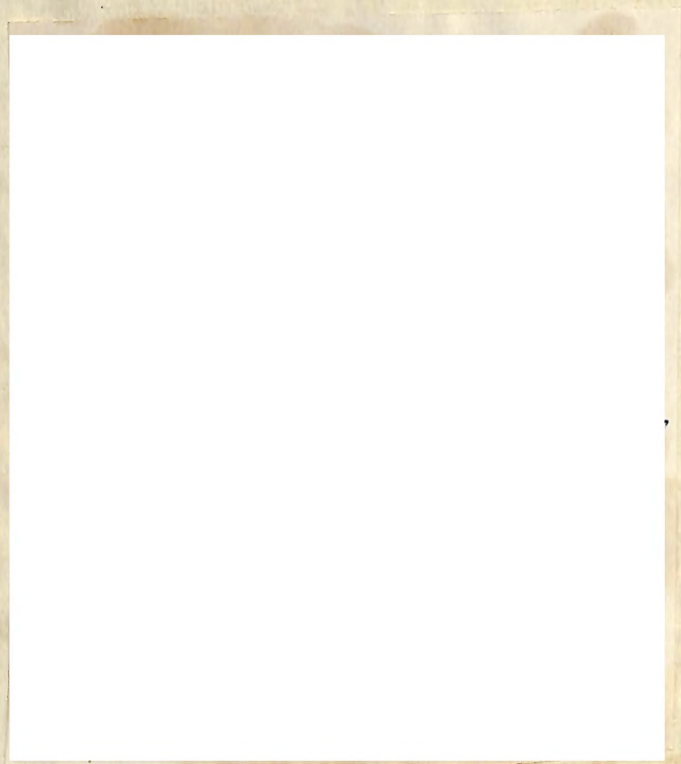


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# STUDIES IN VEDIC AND INDO-IRANIAN RELIGION AND LITERATURE

VOL. I

By

Late Pt. Kshetresh Chandra Chattopadhyaya

*Edited by*

Dr. Vidya Niwas Misra

[ *Professor and Head of the Department of Modern Languages  
and Linguistics, Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishvavidyalay* ]

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## PREFACE

This is my proud privilege to present the first Volume of the complete works of my late Guru, Pt. Chattopadhyaya. I knew my limitations, when I was called upon to accomplish this task, but knowing fully well that I may not prove equal to the task, I took up this challenge under the cover of the well-known maxim that the best is the enemy of good. Perhaps much better arrangement of Gurudeva's papers should have been offered and further annotations should have been added, but the publication could not be put off further due to the insistence of the members of his family. I sincerely tender my apologies for imperfections which are my own.

I propose to give a short assessment of Pt. Chattopadhyaya's works as an introduction to this work, which would appear along with the second volume of this work. Here I am confining the preface mainly to the opinions of other scholars on the achievements of Late Pt. Chattopadhyaya.

Pt. Chattopadhyaya was held in high esteem by eminent Orientalists here as well as abroad and it would be proper to quote their own words, so that the scholarly achievements of Pt. Chattopadhyaya are lime-lighted by mature opinions. Here a mere sampling is given (the detailed correspondence will follow in a subsequent volume of his collected papers).

Morris Winternitz in a personal letter gives his appreciation of the Vṛṣākapi paper in these words, "I am much obliged to you for sending me your very



interesting and suggestive paper on the Vṛṣākapi Hymn. Like many other obscure hymns of the Ṛgveda, this hymn too has been explained over and over again without being much clearer. I gladly admit that you have improved on your predecessors. You have made it probable enough that Vṛṣākapi need not be taken as an ape, and that it is possible to see in Vṛṣākapi a solar deity.....If we shall ever be able to get an absolutely satisfactory interpretation of the Vṛṣākapi hymn ..... your paper will certainly be one step towards it."

Dr.L.D. Barnett reviewing the Journal of Deptt. of Letters, Calcutta University in *JRAS* opines, "Among the most important papers we may single out for special mention that of Mr. K. C. Chattopadhyaya on the Identification of the Rigvedic river Sarasvati and some connected problems."

Prof. J. Charpentier in his review appearing in *JARS*, 1927 acclaims, "By far the most extensive contribution is that of Mr. Ksetresachandra Chattopadhyaya, dealing with the much debated question of the date of Kalidasa. This paper is written with considerable skill and a good knowledge of the literature concerned with the question"

Prof. Charpentier was full of admiration as is evident from a subsequent personal letter of his, "I have read your paper with great interest and found many very sound remarks in it, e.g. when you think that the current theories on the relation between Greek and Hindu astronomy are in sore need of revision—a remark with which I heartily concur. Also what you say on p. 112 concerning the Prakrits is perfectly sound, etc..... This, however, is only a personal meaning, and I still congratulate you upon the good piece of work you have achieved. I hope that you will soon find your way to



continue your researches in the field of Sanskrit Kavya. They will certainly always be met with vivid interest".

Prof. Walter Neisser commenting on Pt. Chattopadhyaya's theory on R̥gvedic gods, opines, "I was much pleased to get acquainted with your conception of this interesting problem. There is great probability to realise that Indra has not been a representative of any natural phenomenon originally... I should be glad to see your papers on Varuna and on similar subjects if you will be kind enough to send me".

Prof. Otto. Strauss acknowledges the receipt of his paper on Indo-Iranian Schism in these words, "Many thanks for your article 'Martin Haug's Theory of Indo-Iranian Religious Schism' which I have perused with great interest. I think you have succeeded in putting things very clearly and convincingly".

Prof. C. J. Ogden writes about the aforesaid paper on Indo-Iranian Schism with greater admiration, "Let me thank you for your kindness in sending me a copy of your article on 'Martin Haug's Theory of Indo-Iranian Religious Schism', which has impressed me with the cogency of its argument that the divergence in the religious development of India and Iran was a natural one and not the result of a deliberate enmity between two sister people"

Prof. F. W. Thomas in a personal letter gives his appreciation of an address, "I think your Address (Presidential Address-Veda Section-Ninth Oriental Conference) is a comprehensive and judicious survey of the literature of the subject, and I generally agree with your criticisms of other scholars, more especially in regard to Mohenjo-daro and to the Vedic literature and the connections between the two and with your views concerning the present



situation and needs of Vedic research. The points made in regard to Comparative Philology and Avestan comparisons are also excellently put... The Address seems to me admirably sober and reasonable.

"In regard to the Sakuntala also I think you have made matters much more intelligible than they were before. The dependence of the Padma-Purana upon Kalidasa is made patent, and the originality of Kalidasa is apprized in a really critical manner. I am grateful to you for putting me in possession of the paper.

"I am happy to have made your personal acquaintance in India, and it will be a pleasure to hear from you after my return to England."

Dr. A. B. Keith gives his estimate of Pt. Chattopadhyaya's merits as a scholar in these words, "I have been familiar with the work in very varied fields of Sanskrit literature carried out by Kshetresa Chattopadhyaya of Sanskrit Department of the University of Allahabad.

"In his writings Mr. Chattopadhyaya has shown marked knowledge both of the older traditions of the scholarship of the Sanskrit Pandits skilled in Indian scientific and philosophical thought, and of the modern exponents of comparative philology, anthropology and ancient history. In Vedic studies he has struck out lines of his own and he has defended novel views with a breadth of learning and of argument which command for them the serious consideration of all students."

Coming to the Indian Scholars, it would be but proper to quote first from the late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha, who taught Pt. Chattopadhyaya:

"Pandit Ksetresha Chandra Chattopadhyaya was one of my best pupils at the Muir C. College from where he



took the B. A., in the First Class. Since then he has been working strenuously in the field of Sanskrit scholarship in all its aspects—Poetry and Poetics, Philosophies, Veda along with Avesta; and now after all these twenty years and more, he has become easily the *first*, the best Sanskritist who has passed through my hands. He is deeply read in the originals, having studied them under the best Shastris at Benares, whereby he has imbibed the deep learning of the 'Pandits'. Along with this, he has been carrying on researches on the 'modern' lines also; and his success in the field has secured for him a place of honour among his compeers; as is evidenced by the fact that by common consent he was selected to preside at the most important i.e. Vedic-section of the Oriental Conference recently held in Travancore. In the field of Vedic learning on modern lines, he has won a unique position; and his Research Papers on this subject have won high praise from the best 'Orientalists' of the West.

"Ksetresha Chattopadhyaya has thus, by sheer hard work, won for himself a place of honour among scholars of both types.

"In the domain of Indian Philosophy he has gone out of the usual rut and has sounded the depths of Purva Mimamsa Literature, with the help of practical demonstration among the Vaidikas of Benares.

"His work at the Allahabad University has been most successful. He is universally loved and respected as an ideal teacher of Sanskrit in all branches—including Ancient Indian History and Philosophy and Vedas.

"He has now become the one man of the younger generation to whom younger scholars from all over the



world are likely to come seeking for guidance in their study and research. In the domain of Indian Philosophy and Vedic Studies he appears to be the only person equipped for such honour.

"In character he is a genuine Brahmana in the strictest sense of the term, intelligent and hardworking and yet humble and respectful to elders, and helpful to juniors and pupils."

His another Guru late Pt. Gopinath Kaviraj who outlived his disciple has aptly assessed Pt. Chattopadhyaya's achievement as a modern scholar with a traditional base in the following words :

I have much pleasure in certifying that Pandit Kshetresh Chandra Chattopadhyaya M.A., has been known to me for over twenty years, in fact since the days of his early college life. He worked for some length of time under my guidance in the Government Sanskrit College Library Benares—and though later on he left Benares and joined appointment first in Bengal and then the University of Allahabad, he has always kept me in touch with the progress of his literary career. Pandit Kshetresh Chandra has specialised in Vedic studies, having worked in detail on orthodox lines as well as on Western methods and has produced a number of valuable and original papers which have been widely appreciated. His acquaintance with the Iranian language and with Indo-European Philology and his knowledge of German and French combined with his sound Sanskrit scholarship and his Mīmāṃsā knowledge have equipped him for Vedic researches in a way more adequate than in the case of many others in the field. His numerous papers will show his versatility and critical acumen. I can personally testify to his good knowledge



of most of the important branches of Indian Philosophy (including Nyāya, Vedānta and Mīmāṃsā) in which he has read not only the standard works which are classical but also the commentaries and modern expositions and disquisitions. He has a breadth of outlook together with a fine critical sense. What is unique in Pandit Kshetresh is the rare combination of the depth of traditional learning with the analytical methods of modern western scholarship. His manners are unassuming and moral character exemplary."

Prof I. J. S. Taraporewala, the eminent Iranian scholar expresses his estimate of Pt. Chattopadhyaya's scholarship in these words: "I have known Mr. Kshetreschandra Chattopadhyaya, M. A., since the last twelve years or more. I also had the pleasure of having been his examiner in the 3rd paper (Comparative Grammar of Sanskrit) at the M. A. Examination of the Calcutta University. At that time I was struck by the extremely correct grasp he showed of this subject. Since then I have come into closer touch with him, and our acquaintance has now ripened into friendship, based on my side upon a genuine esteem for his work, his industry and his character.

"Mr. Kshetreschandra is to my mind one of the very few scholars of Sanskrit who possess a real grasp of the meaning of "Philological and critical methods". And to me the chief wonder is that he is entirely self-trained. His knowledge of Sanskrit is wide and accurate, though I would not presume to pass judgment on that point. But I can speak with full confidence about his thorough grasp of Indo-European Philology, especially that of the Aryan branch of languages. He also possesses a very good knowledge of French and German, and has more than a nodding acquaintance with other languages of Europe.



"To this knowledge of Languages and of Linguistics of India he adds a very good knowledge of Iranian Languages and culture. In fact Indo-Iranian culture contacts have formed a favourite side of his activity during the past ten years and more. He has a very good insight into the history of the Ancient East, and he has kept himself quite uptodate in the matter of modern research work on the Ancient Religions and Cultures of the East. I have in my possession a valuable set of letters from him detailing the lines of his research as he progressed with it.

"His many and various papers on Vedic Culture and kindred subjects have proved amply that he possesses a keenness of intellect and a critical acumen comparable to the finest to be found amongst Western scholars, while in his knowledge of the East and in the accuracy of his grasp of Eastern ideas he is decidedly their superior.

"In the end I must say something of his extremely fine and loving character. Simple, frank and modest, he has not a particle of the pride which so often accompanies a great intellect. This modesty and an unfailing good humour have won him many warm friends and admirers among all classes and from all communities. I would like to count myself as one of the Parsis who greatly admire his learning and who esteem him highly for his high character."

It is a great pity that Pt. Chattopadhyaya's large number of papers, so much appreciated by scholars of international stature, could not be published in bookform in his life-time. The main reason was his own obsession with perfection and his self-negating modesty. His was an unsatiable thirst for knowledge and while he was



more than contented with his life, however, full of strife and struggle it was, he was never satisfied with what he had studied and what he had written as a natural sequence to his studies in the vast realm of Oriental learning. A mere look at the long list of his papers would show the broad canvas of his pursuit of knowledge (the list will follow this life sketch). Pt. Chattopadhyaya was a Guru par excellence. He radiated yearning for Truth and humility. He was a hard taskmaster and yet an embodiment of paternal affection which was equally bestowed on his disciples and his children. He was a staunch rationalist and open-minded, but at the same time he was a devout Hindu and lived upto the ideal of a *bhakta* (a man of God). He sacrificed all his comforts for an ascetic-like life of a scholar, but when the cause of teachers demanded that he should sacrifice his dearest sanctum of scholarly pursuit, he did not hesitate to sacrifice his own cherished goal and stood up to fight for the righteous cause. He sincerely believed that search for Truth includes a rebuttal of untruth and injustice and he lived upto this belief, howsoever he had to suffer both materially and mentally.

To the last day of his life here in this world, he was engaged in '*Svādhyaya*' (search of Truth for its own sake). Till the very end which came abruptly in the midst of a discussion over his series of lectures on the three stages of Vedānta proposed to be held in the following month under the auspices of the Sanskrit University Varanasi, had his mind set on search for new vistas of Indological research. He felt uneasy, but carried on the discussion with the Vice Chancellor and the Librarian of the Sanskrit University and soon after they had left, he breathed his last on 3rd March, 1974, in Varanasi.



Such an eternal flame of truth and righteousness can never die and Pt. Chattopadhyaya lives and shall continue to live in those (some of the well-known amongst his students are, Prof. S.P. Chaturvedi, Prof. Aryendra Sharma, A. Ghosh, B.B. Lal, Prof. G. R. Sharma Dr. U. N. Tiwari, Dr. G. C. Pande, Shri L. N. Tiwari and Shri M. P. Lakhera) whom he inspired with the ideal goal of an intellectual and in those who were nourished by his sweet affection. He shall live in his monumental works, which are being published under different titles of which the first one is entitled Studies in Vedic and Indo-Iranian Religion and Literature which again runs into two Volumes, the first one relating to Vedic religion and Vedic history and the second relating to Vedic chronology and Indo-Iranian Studies. His complete works are expected to cover five titles in all. The second title would cover his contributions to the study of Kālidāsa, the third would comprise his philosophical studies, the fourth his miscellaneous studies and lastly the fifth, his magnum opus, (which he could not complete and a part of which has to be reconstructed on the basis of his notes) would relate to an analysis of the Vedic gods.

I shall fail in my duty as editor, if I do not acknowledge my deep gratitude to my Guru, Pt. Chattopadhyaya, whose blessings have enabled me to complete the first phase of the stupendous task of collecting and editing his complete works. I have received full cooperation from his sons and daughters, Mahesh Chandra, Bhavesh Chandra, Umesh Chandra, Annapurna, Gauri and Parvati. In fact the salvaging task has been accomplished wholly by Mahesh and Umesh. I am further indebted to Prof. G. R. Sharma and Prof. G. C. Pande for their kind encouragement in carrying out this process of redemption from Guru's obligation, so sacred in our culture.



Lastly I must thank Sri Kishore Chandra Jain of the Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan who offered to publish the first work (running in two Volumes) and have finally brought out the first volume of the first title of Panditji's complete works.

I seek kind indulgence of the enlightened reader for discrepancies in editing and for printing errors, which might have crept in.

Guru Purnima, 1976

*Vidya Niwas Misra*









## LIFE-SKETCH OF PANDIT KSHETRESA CHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA

Late Pt. Kshetresa Chandra Chattopadhyaya was born of late Shri Atula Chandra Chattopadhyaya and Shrimati Surasundari Devi, of Village Nimta, District 24 Parganahs of Bengal on October 27, 1896. He came from an illustrious family of Kulīna Brāhmaṇas, descended from Āvasathya Gangananda Chattopadhyaya of Deshmukho in District Hoogly of Bengal. The great Indian writer Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya belonged to the same family and Pt. Chattopadhyaya inherited the spirit of Indian renaissance from him. His mother was a deeply religious lady and his father, an assistant in the Government of India Secretariat, a good scholar of English. He had two sisters, Abha Devi and Prabha Devi. He married Shrimati Jagat Lakshmi Devi, daughter of Professor Jyotish Chandra Banerjee, Professor of English literature in Patna.

Pt. Chattopadhyaya studied in a number of schools and passed the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University in 1913 from the Hindu School of Calcutta in the first division. He then studied in the Presidency College of Calcutta for the Intermediate Examination in Arts and passed it in 1915 in the first division. He then migrated to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and passed the B. A. Examination of the Allahabad University from the Muir Central College, Allahabad, in 1917, with distinction and the M. A. Examination in Sanskrit (Philosophy Group) from the Queen's College Benares, in 1919. He also passed the M. A. Examinations in



Sanskrit (Veda Group) of Calcutta University in 1921 and (Vedānta Group) in 1922. He had also passed the First Examination in Pāṇinian Grammar of the Bengal Sanskrit Association in 1913.

While he was a young child, his mother read out to him and his sisters a Bengali drama on the life of Sri Śaṅkarācārya. This early created in his mind a deep interest in Vedānta Philosophy. From his father and his Head Master in the Hindu School, Rai Bahadur Rasamay Mitra, he got interested in linguistic studies. While in School in Bengal, the young boy felt sad that Bengali Pandits of the Orthodox School, though well-versed in other branches of Sanskrit learning, practically knew nothing of the Vedas. He decided that he would himself try to make good this deficiency and specialise in Vedic studies. Study of the Vedas in all their aspects had remained his chief goal of academic endeavour. Vedānta had been his next love. He in his college days became an intimate friend of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, who later became a driving force in his pursuit of knowledge and reassessment of Indian thought from an Indian standpoint.

At Allahabad, his Professor of Sanskrit was Mm. Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha, F. B. A., who taught him Vedānta, besides Sanskrit Literature. This was very fortunate for him. At Benares, the greatest centre of Sanskrit learning, his teachers were Padma Vibhūṣaṇa Mm. Dr. Gopinatha Kaviraja, Dr. Arthur Venis, Mm. Pandit Lakshmaṇa Shastri Tailang, Mm. Pandit Vāmā Charana Nyāyāchārya, Mm. Ambādasā Shastri and Pandit Achyutānanda Tripāṭhi. He imbibed from these scholars the method of Sanskrit learning on traditional lines. Under his Professor of Sanskrit in the Queen's College, Benares, the late Dr. Tukaram Krishna Laddu, he studied Pali



and Prakrits and Elements of Comparative Philology. He was later helped in his study of Linguistics by Professors Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and the late Professor Dr. Irach Jehangir Sorabji Taraporewala. The latter and the late Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi helped him in Avestan studies. The late Pandit Gānesh Shastri and Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Chinnaswami Shastri helped him in the understanding of Vedic Śrauta rituals.

After passing his M. A. Examination in 1919, he worked as a research scholar on the Vedānta Sūtras under Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gopinatha Kaviraja for a few months. He joined as a Lecturer in Sanskrit in the Carmichael College, Rangpur, in November 1919, and as a Lecturer in Sanskrit in the University of Allahabad in September 1924. At Rangpur he had to teach Veda, Sanskrit Texts, Dramaturgy, Dharmaśāstra, History of Sanskrit Literature and also Bengali. At Allahabad, where he served for about 34 years as Lecturer, Reader and Professor, he had to teach a large variety of subjects, Veda, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta, Classical Sanskrit Literature, Pali, Prakrit, Linguistics, Avesta and Ancient Persian and Ancien Indian History.

History was a favourite subject of study of Pt. Chattopadhyaya from his school days. While at Allahabad, he paid several visits to the ancient city of Kaushambi, now a village called Kosam, and realised its archaeological importance. In accordance with his wishes, the Archaeological Department of the Government of India took interest in its systematic excavation. But when the Department abruptly stopped the works, Pt. Chattopadhyaya wished that the work should be taken up by Allahabad University. He induced the authorities of the University to move the Archaeological Department to



give license to the University to carry on excavations at Kaushambi. The Department permitted Professor Govardhan Rai Sharma, who had been trained in the modern technique of archaeology by the then Director General of Archaeology, Dr. Robert Mortimer Wheeler, to start this work. It had led to very valuable results.

The Government Sanskrit College of Benares was converted into the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya in March 1958. Pt. Chattopadhyaya was appointed its first Director of Research in August 1958. His own literary activities has started when he was an undergraduate at Allahabad and writing of research articles when he was a Lecturer at Rangpur and guidance of research began when he was a Lecturer in the Allahabad University. Being appointed Director of Research in the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, he had an opportunity of organising research both on traditional and modern lines in the University. He himself supervised the work of some research scholars in Veda, Pāṇinian Grammar and Classical Literature. The Government Sanskrit College had published the *Saraswati Bhawan Texts and Studies*. The Sanskrit University took them over, continued them and added publications under several new heads. A University Press was also started through his efforts. Pt. Chattopadhyaya held the post of Director of Research for five years with a break of one and half years. He was also for about one year acting Vice-Chancellor of the University in addition to his duties as Director of Research.

After retiring from his services in the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, he was appointed Adviser for Sanskrit Programmes in the All-India Radio by the Government of India. He held this post for three years and six months. He prepared the Sanskrit Lessons that

are being broadcast twice a week by the All-India Radio. These Lessons have been revised and are again on the Air. These lessons seek to teach the Sanskrit Language and also the culture enshrined in it.

He was also appointed a special Scholar for comparative study of Vedas and Avesta by the Ministry of Education, Government of India of the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati. Three Inaugural Lectures were delivered at Tirupati on August 21 to 23, 1966. A book in Sanskrit, named *Vedavittaprakāśikā*, has been written and is being revised for publication.

The Calcutta University appointed him Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghose Lecturer on Comparative Religion for 1960. Eight Lectures on the subject were delivered in 1963 and 1964. The title of the Lectures was "God reaches out His Hands". He was appointed Guru Govind Singh Professor of Comparative Religion by the Patiala University but he could not join the post on account of his prolonged illness from 1967 to 1969. He delivered three lectures on Vedic Literature in Hindi in 1960 at Ahmedabad under the auspices of the Jnanodaya Trust and three seminar lectures on the History of Vedic Religion in the same year before the Sanskrit College of Calcutta. He delivered three lectures in Hindi before the Lal Bahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha of Delhi on Kālidāsa. He delivered a series of lectures on Vedic and Iranian religion at the Centre for Advanced Studies in Philosophy and Religion, Banaras Hindu University in 1972.

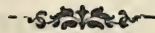
The President of India awarded him on August 15, 1966, a Certificate of Merit for Distinction in Sanskrit with a life pension.



Pt. Chattopadhyaya had been actively connected with the All-India Oriental Conference since its third session held in Madras in December 1924. He presided over its Veda and Indo-Aryan Section in the ninth Session held at Trivandrum in 1937 and its Veda Section in the Eighteenth Session held at Annamalainagar in 1955. He presided over the Philosophy Section of the Akhil Bhāratiya Hindi Sāhitya Sammelana held at Karachi in December 1946. He was actively connected with the efforts of the Sammelan to get Hindi accepted as the official language of the Indian Union by the Constituent Assembly in 1949. It had recently passed a resolution conferring on him the title of *Sāhitya-Vāchaspati* for his services to the cause of Hindi.

Pandit Chattopadhyaya lived a scholar to his last breath. His death came abruptly on 3rd March 1974, in Varanasi, soon after he had finished his final discussion over his the plan of lectures to be delivered at the Sanskrit University in April 1974.

[Adopted from the Felicitation Volume presented to Pt. Chattopadhyaya in 1972 by the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.]



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**STUDIES IN VEDIC  
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INDO-IRANIAN RELIGION  
AND  
LITERATURE**



STUDIES IN AEGYPTIAN  
AND  
HITTITE RELIGION  
AND  
LITERATURE

**SECTION I**  
**VEDIC GODS**



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# THE VR̥ṢĀKAPI HYMN

## ITS MEANING AND IMPORTANCE

इन्द्राविष्णू नमस्कृत्य वार्षाकपं विचार्यते ।

सूर्यस्यैव स्तुतियत्र मधुरोऽपि रसस्तथा ॥

प्रसङ्गेन यदुत्पञ्च पर्शोरत्र स्फुटीकृतम् ।

महानन्दः परं ब्रह्म प्रीयतां मत्प्रचेष्टया ॥

The tenth *maṇḍala* of the R̥gveda (X. 86) and the twentieth book of the Atharvaveda (X. 126) contain a dialogue between Indra and his wife Indrāṇī over some offence of Vṛṣākapi. The hymn which records this dialogue is considered obscure and various interpretations have been proposed for explaining the story referred to here. Vṛṣākapi, a favourite of Indra, has offended Indrāṇī for which she is extremely angry and she tries to rouse the anger of Indra against him and threatens to punish him herself (if Indra does not move in the matter). European scholars have generally taken Vṛṣākapi to mean 'a monkey', or more precisely, 'strong ape or a male ape (Mannaffe)'. "V. Bradke considers the story a satire in which under the name of Indra and Indrāṇī a certain prince and his wife are intended."<sup>1</sup> Oldenberg in his "Die Religion des Veda" holds a similar view (Third and Fourth Editions, p. 167). According to M. Bergaigne<sup>2</sup>, Vṛṣākapi was a mythical sacrificer. Geldner<sup>3</sup> took the hymn as a humorous description of

1. Macdonell's Vedic Mythology, p. 64.

2. La Religion Vedique, II, 270-My information is taken from Griffith, Hymns of the R̥gveda (second edition) II, p. 507 note.

3. Vedische Studien, 11, p. 23.



the domestic life of the gods. And Macdonell<sup>4</sup> considers the myth to have no general significance. But the late Lokamānya Tilak in his "Orion" (Chapter VII) has proposed an astronomical interpretation of the myth.

I shall attempt below a new interpretation of the hymn. I follow Roth in considering the Ṛgveda to be its own safest commentary. But as the Vṛṣākapi myth or the name *Vṛṣākapi* does not occur elsewhere it will be desirable to *start from the known* interpretation of the earliest Vedic interpreters and then try to see how far this hymn and the rest of the Ṛgveda support their explanation. The ultimate determining factor, of course, must be the Vedic texts themselves.

I shall have to discuss the entire hymn but in so doing I shall refer to the previous interpretations rather sparingly because otherwise I shall take up too much space. Scholars will kindly consider my interpretations on the basis of the texts I quote below and the discussions I can enter into here. This is the text of hymn :—

वि हि सोतोरसृक्षन् नेन्द्रं देवममंसत ।

यत्रामंदवृषाकपिर्यः पुष्टेषु मत्सखा विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१॥

परा हीन्द्र धावसि वृषाकपेरति व्यथिः ।

नो अहं प्र विन्दस्यन्यत्र सोमपीतये विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥२॥

किमयं त्वं वृषाकपिश्चकार हरितो मुगः ।

यस्मा इरस्यसीदुन्व १ यो वा पुष्टिमदसु विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥३॥

यमिमं त्वं वृषाकपि प्रियमिन्द्राभिरक्षसि ।

श्वा न्वस्य जम्भिषदपि कर्णे वराहयुविश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥४॥

प्रिया तुष्टानि मे कृपिर्व्यक्ता व्यदुदुपत् ।

शिरो न्वस्य राविषं न सुगं दुष्कृते भुवं विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥५॥

न मत्स्त्री सुभसत्तरा न सुयायुतरा भवत् ।

न मत्प्रतिच्यवीयसी न सक्थ्युद्यमीयसी विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥६॥

उवे अम्ब सुलाभिके यथैवाङ्ग भविष्यति ।  
 भुसन्मै अम्ब सक्थि मे शिरो मे वीव हृष्यति विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥७॥  
 किं सुबाहो स्वङ्गुरे पृथुष्टो पृथुजाघने ।  
 किं शूरपत्नि नृस्त्वमभ्यमीषि वृषाकपि विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥८॥  
 अवीरोमिव मामयं शूराहंरभि मन्यते ।  
 उताहमस्मि वीरिणीन्द्रपत्नी मृत्संखा विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥९॥  
 संहोत्रं स्मं पुरा नारी समनं वाव गच्छति ।  
 वेधा ऋतस्य वीरिणीन्द्रपत्नी महीयते विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१०॥  
 इन्द्राणीमासु नारिषु सुभगामहमश्रवम् ।  
 न ह्यस्या अपरं च न जरमा मरते पतिविश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥११॥  
 नाहमिन्द्राणि रारण सख्युर्वृषाकपेऋते ।  
 यस्येदमप्यं हविः प्रियं देवेषु गच्छति विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१२॥  
 वृषाकपायि रेवति सुपुत्र आदु सुस्तुषे ।  
 घसन्तु इन्द्र उक्षणः प्रियं काचित्कुरं हविर्विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१३॥  
 रुक्षो हि मे पञ्चदश साकं पचन्ति विश्रुतिम् ।  
 उताहमग्निं पीव इदुभा कुक्षी पृणन्ति मे विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१४॥  
 वृषभो न तिमश्रुङ्गो अन्तर्युधेषु रोहवत् ।  
 मन्थस्त इन्द्र शंहदे यं चे ते सुनोति भावयुर्विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१५॥  
 न सेशे यस्य रम्बतेऽन्तरा सक्थ्या ३ कपृत् ।  
 सेदीशे यस्य रोमशं निषेदुषो विजृम्भते विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१६॥  
 न सेशे यस्य रोमशं निषेदुषो विजृम्भते ।  
 सेदीशे यस्य रम्बतेऽन्तरा सक्थ्या ३ कपृद्विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१७॥  
 अयमिन्द्र वृषाकपि परस्वन्तं हृतं विदत् ।  
 अंसि सूनां नवं चरुमादेधुस्यान् आचितं विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१८॥  
 अयमैमि विचाकशद्विचिन्वन्दासमार्थम् ।  
 पिबांसि पाकुसुवन्नोऽभि धीरमचाकशं विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१९॥  
 धन्वं च यत्कृन्तत्रं च कति स्विता वि योजेना ।  
 नेदीयसो वृषाकपेऽस्तमेहि गृह्णां उप विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥२०॥  
 पुनरेहि वृषाकपे सुविता कल्पयावहै ।  
 य एष स्वप्नन्शनोऽस्तमेषि पथा पुनर्विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥२१॥



यदुद्वो वृषाकपे गृह्मिन्द्राजगन्तन ।

क १ स्य पुल्वघो मृगः कमगञ्जनयोपनो विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥२२॥

पर्शुर्ह नाम मानवी साकं संसूव विशतिम् ।

भद्रं भल त्वस्या अभुवस्या उदरमामयद् विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥२३॥

Before beginning a rendering of the hymn I must settle what the word Vṛṣākapi means. European scholars, as I have just said, have taken it in the sense of 'male ape', because *kapi* in the later literature regularly means an 'ape'. But is it certain that the word had the same meaning in the R̥gveda? As it occurs in no other hymn the question is difficult to decide. Let us see if by passing *from the known to the unknown* any light could be obtained. First of all let us try this sense or 'ape' in the hymn. At first sight, no difficulty confronts us. That Indrāṇī should be addressed as mother to a 'monkey' in verse 7 does not constitute any difficulty, for tamed animals are considered as children by householders. But it must be confessed that there is not a single expression in the hymn *positively* supporting the meaning of 'monkey' for *kapi*. On a closer study of the hymn we find at least one expression which goes against the equation *kapi*-monkey. Vṛṣākapi has been called पुल्वघोमृगः 'sinner beast' (Roth-'viel übles tuend'—a Bahuvrīhi compound between पुलु and अघ) or better 'dread beast' in verse 22. The 'sin' referred to cannot be the offence complained of by Indrāṇī in verse 5, *viz.* the spoiling of her favourite things. For 'sin' would be much too strong a word for the offence; besides, that is only one offence, whereas Vṛṣākapi is called 'many-sinned'. There is also the fact that after verse 17, we find Indrāṇī reconciled to Vṛṣākapi, so that we would not expect a connotation of reproach in a term used for Vṛṣākapi in verse 22. I therefore translate the word *pulvagha* (with the same analysis as Roth's) by 'dread'. Gods are often called in praise 'dread' of terrible

aspect etc. We may therefore parallel the expression पुल्वघो मृगः by मृगो न भीमः in I. 1542, said about Viṣṇu.<sup>5</sup>

Grassmann<sup>6</sup> thinks that the objective *aghā* originally meant 'oppressive' (bedrängend, würgend). The meaning of 'terrible' is not therefore impossible for *pulvaghā*. A monkey can hardly be called a 'dread beast'. I think therefore that the equation *kapi* = 'monkey', in accordance with later usage, fails us here.

Let us now see if Yāska can give us any help. His note on the name Vṛṣākapi is अथ यद्रश्मिभिरभिप्रकम्पयन्तेति तद्वृषाकपिर्भवति वृषाकम्पयनः । Yāska connects the word *kapi* with the root कम्प् 'to tremble.'<sup>7</sup> But as no conjugational form or any other derivative of the root is found in the Ṛgveda, we may safely reject Yāska's explanation as one of his usual etymological fictions. But Śaunaka, the author of the Bṛhaddevatā, a work not far removed in time from Yāska, gives a more sensible interpretation, viz, *kapi* = *kapila* ('tawny coloured').<sup>8</sup>

5. Yāska (Nir. 1.20) has the following note on मृगो न भीमः कुचुरः of I. 154.2; भीमो विस्मयत्यस्माद् भीष्मोऽप्येतस्मादेव । कुचुर इति चरति कर्म कुत्सितम् Yāska feels that the last adjective is not complimentary to a god (according to the ideas of his times) and he continues अथ चेद्देवताभिधानं, कायं न चरतीति । Of course the second explanation is preferable on other grounds but Yāska's words show that it is possible to find gods described as 'dread animals' That Vṛṣākapi is a god will be shown below.
6. Wörterbuch Zum Rig-veda, column 12.
7. Grassmann in his Wörterbuch, 313 and 314, follows Yāska in deriving कृपिः of the present hymn (X. 86.5) from the root कम्प् but his reasons are not apparent to me.
8. Grassmann (Wb. 313) derives *kapilā* from *kapi* giving it the etymological meaning of 'having the colour of the *kapi* =



In the Br̥had-dévata (VII. 141), he thus enumerates the 'deities' of the hymn under discussion:

‘वि हि’ वार्षकिपं सूक्तम् असौ हि कपिलो वृषा ।

इन्द्रः प्रजापतिश्चैत्र विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥<sup>9</sup>

Clearly he means that *kapi* in the name ‘Vṛṣākapi’ stands for *kapila*. Let us see if this meaning suits our hymn. Vṛṣākapi has been called हरितो मृगः ‘a tawny-coloured beast’ in verse 3. The formation of the compound shows that *kapi* is here a substantive<sup>10</sup> but that constitutes no difficulty for scores of illustrations can be cited from the R̥gveda of adjectives meaning a particular colour (like हरि, वृष्टु, श्याव

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monkey’. But it is quite possible that *kapi* and *kapila* are two forms of the same word like *hari* and *hārīta* and ‘tawny’ may have been the original meaning of *kapi*. The monkey may have been called *kapi* because he had the tawny colour. Similarly the lion and the monkey were in later times called simply *hari*.

9. Macdonell’s rendering of the verse (H. O. S. Vol. 6, p. 288). “‘Away, indeed’ is a hymn addressed to Vṛṣākapi; for that brown (*kapila*) bull (*vṛṣan*) is Indra and Prajāpati : ‘Indra is superior to all’ is defective. The meaning that the words Śaunaka can convey is, “‘‘Away, indeed’ is hymn about Vṛṣākapi; (beside) that brown bull [or that brown bull and] Indra and Prajāpati, are the deities (=joint-deities) of the hymn. Indra is highest of all.” ‘विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः’ in Śaunaka’s verse is not for referring to the hymn, because the opening words ‘वि हि’ has already served that purpose. It is for showing the relative importance of the three deities mentioned and Śaunaka does that in the words of the hymn itself. Indra is thus made out to be the supreme deity of the hymn.
10. See Macdonell’s Vedic Grammar (Grundriss) 282 (like candra-mas).

etc) being used as substantives possessing that colour.<sup>11</sup> Though the author of the Br̥had-devatā takes the first member *Vṛṣan* to be the substantive and the second member *kapi* to be the adjective we can have little hesitation in explaining the compound just the other way. The word *kapi* has been used as a substantive in verse 5. Now *Vṛṣan* comes from root वृष् 'to saturate' and the word means as a substantive 'a potent person or animal', 'a breeder', 'a bull' and as an adjective, 'saturating (with rain)', 'impregnating', 'potent', 'strong'. We may give to the compound *Vṛṣākapi* the meaning of 'the *potent* tawny-coloured animal' or 'the *strong* tawny-coloured animal'. I prefer the former meaning and my reasons will be evident later on.

But we have not yet learnt what particular animal is meant by the name. The language of the Br̥had-devatā ('कपिलो वृषा' quoted above) perhaps suggests that the animal meant is, according to Śaunaka, the bull. This is possible, for a wild bull (or a bison ?) may be 'a dread beast' for 'a voracious beast' as Nirukta XIII, 3 explains the word पुल्लवः<sup>12</sup> and may be chased by a hunter and his dog. But we cannot be sure that no other animal could have been meant. I shall show below that the boar is probably the animal referred to.

The hymn makes it clear that this *Vṛṣākapi* is related to Indra and Indrāṇi. They are divine beings and *Vṛṣākapi* too may be a divine being. The R̥gveda is very fond of

11. In English too expressions like 'he is riding on a chestnut', meaning 'he is riding on a chestnut-coloured horse' are not rare.

12. But this explanation has nothing to commend it, not even perhaps the name of Yāska. पुल्लु + √ वृष् would form पुल्लुवः and not पुल्लवः. It is highly doubtful if Yāska himself wrote the परिशिष्ट chapters.



figurative expressions and often likens gods to animals. What divine being could possibly be meant by this 'Vṛṣākapi'? Unaided by external evidence we cannot decide the question. That aid is given by the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta. The Nighaṇṭu enumeration of deities in chapter 5 on the whole follows the classification of deities according to the three regions, terrestrial, the atmospheric and the celestial. The name वृषाकपिः occurs in the Nighaṇṭu (v. 6) among the 'gods of celestial region', after विष्णुः, विश्वानरः, वरुणः, कुशी and केशिनः and Vṛṣākapi therefore may be a solar deity according to the compiler or compilers of the Nighaṇṭu. Yāska (Nir. XII-28) explicitly calls him Āditya (=Sun). The Bṛhad-devatā follows the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta. Saunaka's words are वृषेय कपिलो भूत्वा यन्नाकमधिरोहति । वृषाकपिरसौ तेन 'विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः' । रश्मिभिः कम्पयन्नेति वृषा वर्षिष्ठ एव सः । सायाहकाले भूतानि स्वापयन्नस्तमेति यत् । वृषाकपिरितो वा स्यादिति मन्त्रेषु दृश्यते । 'त्रिषु धन्वेति, हीन्द्रेण प्रयुक्तो वारिषाकपे ॥

(Macdonell's edition, H.O.S., Vol. 5, II 67-69, p. 67). The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (II.6.12) improving on<sup>13</sup> the words (अथ यद्रश्मिभिरभिप्रकम्पयन्नेतियद् वृषाकपिर्भवति वृषाकम्पनः XII. 27) of Yāska says "आदित्यो वै वृषाकपिस्तद्यत्कम्पयमानो रेतो वर्षति तस्माद्वृषाकपिस्तद्वाषाकपेवृषाकपित्वम्" The Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva-Mokṣa-

13. Though I say 'improving on', I am personally not certain which work was later, the Nirukta or the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. Dr. D. Gaastra has shown (Introduction to his edition of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 14) that यस्यै देवतायै हविर्गृहीतं स्यात् तां मनसा द्यायेद् वषट्करिष्यन् is not a quotation from the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa as Bloomfield and Keith believe. But Gune (Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 45, 46) found two other passages in the Nirukta which might have come from the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. Gaastra has also shown that the Vaitāna Sūtra is based on the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa and not *vice versa* (as Weber and Bloomfield assumed).

dharmā, Ch. 342, vv. 86-87) has the Nighaṇṭu in mind when it says वृषो हि भगवान् धर्मः ह्यातो लोकेषु भारत । निघण्टुकपदाख्याने विद्धि मां वृषमुत्तमम् ॥ कविर्वराहः श्रेष्ठश्च धर्मश्च उच्यते । तस्माद्वृषाकपि प्राह कश्यपो मां प्रजापतिः ॥ It is possible that the author of these verses is acquainted with Yāska but he has altered Yāska's explanation 'Vṛṣākapi=the Sun' into 'V.=the abstract deity Dharma or Piety. The reason for this alteration is quite evident. Setting aside the didactic statement in the Mahābhārata we learn from the other early native works on Vedic gods that Vṛṣākapi is a solar deity.

But does the Ṛgveda give any warrant for this interpretation? I think it does. Let us study the hymn under discussion a bit closely. We find here several attributes of the Sun. First of all there are the explicit statements about the setting and the rising of Vṛṣākapi in verses 20 and 21 (अस्तमेहि, पुनरेहि, अस्तमेपि)<sup>14</sup> and the implicit reference to his setting along with Indra in verse 22. Next there are other expressions which have been used elsewhere only about solar deities. Vṛṣākapi is brought in immediate connexion with घग्वा (=waste lands), कृत्त्राणि (=कृत्त्राणि=high regions?) and योजना (=leagues=plains?) in verse 20 and it is certain that the verse means he has to traverse these. This at once brings to our mind passages like R. V. I. 35. 8 a, b "अष्टौ व्यह्यत् कुकुभः पृथिव्यास्त्री घग्वा योजना" said about Savitr=Sun and we can hardly doubt that Vṛṣākapi too is the Sun. Then again, Vṛṣākapi has been called स्वप्ननाशनः when going down, in verse 21. Yāska (Nir. XII. 28) gives the word *svapnanamśana* the meaning of 'remover of sleep' and Geldner (Vedische studien II, 28 and Ṛgveda in Auswahl I-Glossar-p. 209) 'disturber of sleep. This is on

14. अस्त<sup>1</sup> may mean here, as often elsewhere, 'house', but the cumulative evidence is in favour of the sense of 'setting'.



the assumption that *naś* means here 'to disappear', as always in classical Sanskrit, and its causative form *namś* 'to drive away'. But the root has in the Ṛgveda a second meaning, *viz.*, 'to attain, c.f. Grassmann, Wörterbuch, 718, '2 nac' and Macdonell's Vedic Grammar for students, p. 395, '2 naś.' It is possible therefore that *svapnanamśana* here means 'bringer of sleep'. The Sun certainly lays down people to rest when he goes down.<sup>15</sup> If Yāska's meaning is preferred, even then the Sun can be understood, for he rouses people from sleep when he rises himself. This word alone should conclusively prove that *Vṛṣākapi* is the sun. And last of all, *Vṛṣākapi* has been called पुल्वघो मृगः 'dread beast' in verse 22 and I have already noted the parallel expression मृगो न भीमः ('like a dread beast') of I. 154. 2 about Viṣṇu, a solar deity.

The combination *vṛṣā-kapi* is by no means an impossible one as a name for the Sun. The Sun certainly looks yellow or tawny and we have in the Ṛgveda expressions like हरये सूर्याय (X. 96. 11) and शक्मन्ता शाको अरुणः सुपूर्ण आ यो मुहः शूरः सुनादनीकः । यच्चिकेत सत्यमित्तन्न मोघं वसुं स्पार्हमुत जेतोत दाता ॥ (X. 55. 6 where the Sun is meant according to Grassmann, Griffith and others). And वृषा 'strong' (or saturator) is a frequent term for Ṛgvedic deities; compare उरुगायाय वृष्णे in I. 154. 3 said about Viṣṇu, a solar deity and पुषा वृषा in X. 26. 3 about another solar deity. The two epithets have also been combined. Agni has been called a 'brown or tawny *vṛṣan*' in VI 48. 6 and VII.10.1. The 'brown bull or breeder' in V. 12.6 यस्तं अग्ने नमसा युजामीदृ ऋतं स पात्यरुपस्य वृष्णः' may be Agni or may be some deity distinct from itself (the Sun). In IX.2.6 "अचिक्रददृषा हरिर्महान्मित्रो न दर्शतः । सं सूर्येण रोचते ॥"

15. Compare आ कृष्णेन रजसा वर्तमानो निवेशयन्मृतं मर्त्यं च । हिरण्ययेन सविता रथेना देवो याति भुवनानि पश्यन् I. 35. 2 etc.

the *soma* has been called a 'tawny *vṛṣan*' and beautiful like *Mitra* (=Sun) and shining with *Sūrya* (=Sun). This suggests that *Mitra* is also a 'tawny *vṛṣan*' and we actually find the Sun called a bull and a ruddy bird in V. 47.3 “*उक्षा समुद्रो अरुणः सुपर्णः पूर्वस्य योनिं पितुरा विवेश । मध्ये दिवो निहितः पृश्निरश्मा वि चक्रमे रजसस्पात्यन्तौ ॥*” In VII. 88.1, “*प्रशुन्ध्युवं वरुणाय प्रेष्ठां मृति वसिष्ठ मील्हुषे भरस्व । य ईमवाञ्चुं करते यजत्रं सुहस्रामघं वृषणं बृहन्तम् ।*” the 'lofty *vṛṣan*' is certainly the Sun and in the thirteenth book of the *Atharva Veda* the Sun appears simply as *रोहित*=the Red One. Instances may be multiplied. '*vṛṣan*' in *vṛṣākapi* may mean 'strong' or 'potent' and not 'bull'. The saturating power of the Sun is very frequently referred to in the *R̥gveda*. May we not now unhesitatingly reject 'Mannaffe' for *vṛṣākapi* and substitute in its place 'strong or potent tawny-coloured animal', understanding thereby the Sun ?

I am now in a position to begin a translation of the hymn. There is not much obscurity about the meanings of the *words*. Consequently the different *translations* do not much differ from one another and mine too will not materially differ from those of my predecessors. There will naturally be a few differences here and there and these will be discussed in the notes on the different verses.

“(1) Men have given up the pressing of the Soma and they have not been worshipping Indra, whereas my friend *Vṛṣākapi* has been exhilarating himself in the wealth (*i.e.* offerings) of the pious (or the rich). Indra is superior to all.

(2) Thou passest by, Indra, without minding the transgression of *Vṛṣākapi* but thou findest not Some to drink anywhere else. Indra is superior to all.



(3) What has this tawny beast Vṛṣākapi done to thee, that thou grudgest him now the wealth (or offerings) of the pious (or the rich) ? Indra is superior to all.

(4) Thy favourite Vṛṣākapi whom thou protectest, Indra, may the hound bite him, may the boar-hunter seize him in the ear. Indra is superior to all.

(5) This tawny animal has spoiled the dear wellmade and brightened things for me and I shall now break his head. I am not going to be indulgent towards a transgressor. Indra is superior to all.

(6) "No Dame hath ampler charms than I, or greater wealth of love's delights.

None with more ardour offers all her beauty to her lord's embrace."<sup>16</sup> Indra is superior to all.

(7) Yes, Madam, easily won, that is what will verily be. My buttocks, Madam, thighs and head seem to shake for very joy. Indra is superior to all.

(8) O thou of lovely arms and lovely fingers, of profuse tresses and broad hips, why afflictest, hero's wife, this our (poor) Vṛṣākapi ? Indra is superior to all.

(9) This mischievous creature treats me as one without heroic issues, whereas I am a mother of heroic sons, Indra's wife am I and the Maruts' friend. Indra is superior to all.

(10) From ancient times this lady has been going to the common sacrifice and celebration. She, the rite's ordainer, hero's mother and Indra's wife, has been worshipped (everywhere). Indra is superior to all.

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16. Griffiths. I have given his free translation which somehow conveys the sense; for I could myself give only a literal translation and that would have been obscene.

(11) I have heard Indrāṇī as the blessed among all dames for her husband will not age and die even in future time. Indra is superior to all.

(12) I never joyed Indrāṇī, without my friend Vṛṣākapi, whose dear watery oblation goes to the gods. Indra is superior to all.

(13) O bounteous Vṛṣākapi, having good sons and daughters-in-law too thy Indra will eat the dear....oblation of bulls. Indra is superior to all.

(14) They cook for me together fifteen bulls (or) twenty and I take their fat and they fill my belly on both the sides. Indra is superior to all.

(15) Let this drink, Indra, please thy heart, which is strong like a sharp-horned bull, bellowing among the herds, and which is pressed for thee by the person who wants to win thy love. Indra is superior to all.

(16), (17) (See commentary of Sāyaṇa quoted below).<sup>17</sup>

(18) May, Indra, Vṛṣākapi obtain a victim of wild beasts (?), the knife the oven, the new pan and also a cart with fuels filled. Indra is superior to all.

(19) I come viewing all the quarters discriminating the Dāsa and the Ārya and I drink the Soma pressed

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17. हे इन्द्र स जनो नेशे मैथुनं कर्तुं नेष्टे न शक्नोति यस्य जनस्य कपृत् शेवः प्रजननं सक्थ्या सक्थिनी अन्तरा रम्बते लम्बते सेत् स एव स्त्रीजने ईशे मैथुनं कर्तुं शक्नोति यस्य जनस्य निषेदुषः शयानस्त रोमशमुपस्थं विजृम्भते विवृतं भवति यस्य च पतिरिन्द्रो विश्वस्मादुत्तरः ॥१६॥ स जनो नेशे मैथुनं कर्तुं नेष्टे यस्य निषेदुषः शयानस्य रोमशमुपस्थं विजृम्भते विवृतं भवति सेत् स एव जनः ईशेईष्टे मैथुनं कर्तुं शक्नोति यस्य नरस्य कपृत् प्रजननं सक्थ्या सक्थिनी अन्तरा रम्बते लम्बते । सिद्धमन्यत् पूर्वोक्तव्यतिरेकोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः । पूर्वस्यामृचि यियप्सुरिन्द्राणीन्द्रं वदति अत्रायियप्सुरिन्द्र इन्द्राणीं वदतीत्यविरोधः ॥१७॥ ईशे=ईष्टे really means 'is strong or potent.'



only by the guileless votary and I look (with favour) on the wise. Indra is superior to all.

(20) The deserts, and the steep regions and how many are the leagues (thou hast to pass) ! Through them come down Vṛṣākapi to thy neither homes. Indra is superior to all.

(21) Come again Vṛṣākapi, blessed enjoyments we (too) shall arrange (for thee or for ourselves), thou who bringing sleep goest (down) again to thine home by thine (olden) path. Indra is superior to all.

(22) When you, Vṛṣākapi and Indra, who were on the upper heavens, went to your home, where was then the dread beast, where went that charmer (?) of people ? Indra is superior to all.

(23) Parśu, the human wife, brought forth together twenty children. It is good that happened to her whose womb had swelled and caused her pain. Indra is superior to all.

What story does the hymn tell us ? According to Professor Macdonell<sup>18</sup>, "This hymn describes a dispute between Indra and his wife Indrāṇī about the monkey Vṛṣākapi, who is the favourite of the former and has damaged the property of the latter. Vṛṣākapi is soundly thrashed and escapes, but afterwards returns when a reconciliation takes place". Professor Geldner<sup>19</sup> says that it is "a dramatic scene in genuine popular style. Vṛṣākapi, an ape and a bastard of Indra, had on account of a threshing left the house and he has now alone and without Indra, called on people who are celebrating his

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18. Vedic Mythology' p. 64

19. Der R̥gveda in Auswahl II (kommentar) p. 184.

worship and have thereon almost forgotten the God (Indra) himself. During their vain search for Soma, Indra and Indrāṇī meet their naughty son and his consort at a banquet." Grassmann writes<sup>20</sup>, "Dialogue between Indra and Indrāṇī in the presence of Vṛṣākapi and his wife Vṛṣākāpāyī. Vṛṣākapi, literally 'the strong ape', 'the male ape', who has been directly called 'kapi' *i.e.* ape in verse 5, appears here as a being intermediate between a demigod and a demon. While he is a friend and comrade of Indra and sacrifices to him with zeal, he behaves himself wantonly with his wife Indrāṇī and torments people. The refrain at the end of each verse; 'Highest of all is Indra', obviously did not belong to the original hymn and since it breaks the connection everywhere, it has been omitted in the following translation. The hymn is twice interrupted by obscene passages (vv. 6, 7, 16, 17) that break the connection and also seem to have formerly formed natural parts of hymns in which husband and wife speak together. Verses 6 and 7 appear to have been taken from an obscene hymn and most likely verses 16 and 17 too. Vṛṣākapi threatened by Indrāṇī has been defended by Indra, especially on account of a sacrifice which he and his family offer to Indra, whereon Indrāṇī (v. 15) praises the brew she has prepared and derides the offering of Vṛṣākapi (v. 18). This Vṛṣākapi seems to have wished to fly away to impassable regions before the anger of Indrāṇī. Indra gives him his own and his wife's protection and asks him to return to the house (vv. 20-21)." Tilak in his Orion (Chapter VII (tries to prove that the hymn has an astronomical meaning. According to him, Vṛṣākapi is the Sun who

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20. R̥gveda, übersetzt, II, p. 484.



has the vernal equinox in the Orion. After the autumnal equinox, the Sun passes to the southern hemisphere and Tilak thinks that sacrifices were then stopped. According to him the hymn records Indrāṇī's chagrin at this stoppage of sacrifices for her lord; and she is wroth with the *mṛga* (Orion) whose acronycal rising was "a signal to stop such ceremonies, and oblations could properly be said to have been spoilt by the appearance of this constellation at the beginning of night."<sup>21</sup> Indrāṇī wishes to cut off (=actually cuts off, according to Tilak) this *mṛga's* head and the cut off head of the 'antelope' is the constellation *Canis Major*. Indrāṇī is reconciled with Vṛṣākapi (=the Sun) when he comes back *i.e.* returns from the southern hemisphere (at the vernal equinox), whereon sacrifices can go on again.

In interpreting obscure passages of an old text like the Rgveda the imagination has to be exercised a good deal. But this faculty should be used with considerable restraint. I cannot help feeling that my predecessors used their imaginations too freely. The ultimate determining factor is the text itself. I have used my imagination in the understanding of the hymn, but have confined it within the narrow limits of actual text and have throughout sought (and found) parallels for the meanings that the words of the hymn seemed to warrant. I now give below my own interpretation but before doing that I must offer some remarks about the views quoted above. The European interpreters have been all misled by their supposition that *kapi* in *Vṛṣākapi* means 'an ape'. But I have shown already that *kapi* should mean 'a tawny-coloured

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21. Orion (reprinted by Ashteker, p. 179).

animal' and *Vṛṣākapi* stands for the Sun. This natural supposition would have saved Geldner and Grassmann from a host of wild guesses. Geldner<sup>22</sup> thinks that the statement of Ṣaḍguruśiṣya "वृषाकपिनमिन्द्रस्य पुत्रः शचीसपत्न्यां जातः" means that *Vṛṣākapi* is a *bastard* of Indra. This betrays a lamentable ignorance of Oriental conditions. Monogamy was not a rigid rule in the time of Ṣaḍguruśiṣya or Sāyaṇa or the seers of the Vedic hymns themselves. Indrāṇī's co-wife, the mother of *Vṛṣākapi* would be as good a married wife of Indra as Indrāṇī herself and consequently *Vṛṣākapi* would be as legitimate a son of Indra as Indrāṇī's sons would be. Besides showing an unbridled imagination Grassmann makes a number of assumptions about the original text of the hymn which have no warrant save his own inability to understand the connections. Against Tilak, I have to say that *mṛga* does not mean in the Ṛgveda an 'antelope' but 'any wild animal' (an animal of the chase) and he has himself admitted that no trace of the constellation *Canis Major* (Tilak's *śvan* in Sanskrit) is found in Sanskrit literature. Hence all those suppositions about the cut-off head of the antelope with a dog-star behind it at the acronycal rising of the Orion when sacrifices have to be stopped at once fall to the ground. No scientific mind will consider seriously an interpretation according to which *Vṛṣākapi* at one place means the Sun in the Orion, and at another place in the same hymn the constellation Orion rising in the eastern horizon when the Sun sets (being now at a distance of 180° from the constellation). I do not say more, because to show the untenability of the various assumptions of Tilak would require double the space he has himself devoted to the subject. It is a matter of pity for the cause of science that the



greatness of Lokamānya Tilak's character, both personal and political, and his real fame for vast erudition create an undue prejudice in our country in favour of his historical conclusions.

Now for my own interpretation. The hymn most clearly refers to an orthodox opposition against the worship of Vṛṣākapi (=Viṣṇu=the Sun god) to the exclusion of the old national god Indra. This opposition is expressed dramatically through the mouth of Indrāṇī, Indra's wife, who is the person that is most likely to be affected at her husband's loss of worship. She is naturally indignant with Vṛṣākapi for whose sake her lord has been deprived of his wanted oblations (vv. 1 and 2). She tries to rouse the anger of her all-powerful lord against this insolent beast (vv. i, 2, 5, 9) but all her efforts fail and the old hero expresses his love for and kinship with Vṛṣākapi whose celebration cannot move him to jealousy (vv. 3, 8, 12). Indrāṇī fails and the worship of Vṛṣākapi receives the weighty support of Indra himself (vv. 19-21). The 'seer' of the hymn, who is obviously an exclusive worshipper of this diety Vṛṣākapi (=Viṣṇu=the Sun god), cleverly disarms orthodox opposition by making Indra himself sanction this worship and by the diplomatic<sup>23</sup> refrain at the end of each verse, "विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः" (Indra is the highest of all). This interpretation is based on the actual text (in the understanding of which the imagination has been used with considerable restraint) and it leaves no portion of the hymn out of account. (The refrain, verses 6 and 7 and 16 and 17 and 23 (the concluding one which none has ere this been able to satisfactorily connect with the previous

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23. The person who verbally acknowledges the supremacy of Indra cannot be branded as a 'heretic'.

verses) have all been found to be connected with the rest of the hymn. I have also found R̥gvedic parallels for all the new meanings I have proposed. Let me now give reasons for the few innovations I have made in the *translation* and for the new *interpretation* I have just proposed and let me further explain my position. This will be best done by taking up each verse and discussing its meaning. I may, however, mention here the legend given in the *Brahma Purāṇa* (ch. 129) of Abjaka Vṛṣākapi, a man having the nature of Śiva and Viṣṇu, who was produced from the water by Śiva, the Godāvarī and Viṣṇu at the prayer of Indra and Śacī. It is possible that the *Purāṇa* understands *kapi* to mean a *monkey* but that is quite natural. I therefore do not feel disposed to accept the suggestion of Mr. Pargiter (J.R.A. S., 1911, p. 808-9) about the Dravidian origin of the Vṛṣākapi cult or to think that the *Purāṇic* story is not based on our hymn.

*Verse 1*—This verse is put in the mouth of Indra by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, Sāyaṇa and Geldner but of Indrāṇī by Mādhavabhaṭṭa (quoted by Sāyaṇa on X. 86.1), Durgācārya (on Nir. XIII. 4) and Ludwig. I take it to be spoken by Indrāṇī for it contains a note of complaint. Indra would not complain against Vṛṣākapi who is his favourite (cf. v. 12) अर्यः is taken by Yāska (?)<sup>24</sup>, Sāyaṇa and Geldner in the Second Volume of the *Vedische Studien* as nominative singular of अर्य (meaning 'lord', an adjective of वृषाकपिः). But Geldner in the third Volume of his *Vedische Studien* (III. 86) and in the *Kommentar* (p. 184) corrected himself by taking it as genitive singular of अरि (=अर्य= Aryan). Oldenberg (*R̥gveda, text kritische and exegeti-*

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24. Nir. XIII. 4. It is highly doubtful if Yāska is the author of the supplementary chapters (XIII and XIV)



sche Noten, II, 290) supports this correction. अयः should be therefore connected with गृध्रेण, Indrāṇī complains that when Vṛṣākapi (who is only her 'friend' or relation) is revelling at the feasts Aryans are offering, her husband gets neither his wanted libation of Soma nor the worship ( $\sqrt{\text{man}}$ =to worship) Aryans had been offering him so long. Indrāṇī cannot brook this insult of her husband (and of herself) when she sees Vṛṣākapi preferred to her lord. As is usual with women in such circumstances, she becomes angry with Vṛṣākapi.

*Verse 2*—This verse is ascribed by all to Indrāṇī and there can be no doubt on the point. Indrāṇī is wroth with Vṛṣākapi for he eats and drinks the offerings (principally the Soma) that were her husband's due and she points out to Indra the transgression of this wretch. She wonders why her husband feels no anger against this transgressor; Indra should not condone the offence for he is getting nothing himself ("thou dost not get soma to drink in any other place").

*Verse 3*:—Ṣaḍguruśiṣya and Sāyaṇa ascribe this verse to Indrāṇī but Geldner, Griffith, Ludwig and Oldenberg are more justified in putting it in Indra's mouth. Indrāṇī has tried in the previous verse to rouse the anger of Indra against Vṛṣākapi but Indra asks in wonder, what makes her so much wroth with Vṛṣākapi that she grudges him the rich offerings of the Aryans 'हरितो मृगः=कफः='yellow or tawny-coloured animal'. अयः here has the same formation and syntactical connection as in v.1.

*Verse 4*:—Attributed by all to Indrāṇī. Indra's astonished question makes Indrāṇī lose her temper. She had expected that Indra would be estranged from Vṛṣākapi the moment she brought to his notice the latter's offence. But she finds to her horror that Indra is speaking

sympathetically about Vṛṣākapi. She now starts the various feminine guiles for inducing a husband's obedience. The first weapon that she uses is a show of violent passion. She curses the wretched animal (Vṛṣākapi) whom Indra seeks to defend. Griffith takes वृषाहृयु to be an adjective to श्र and translates c and d as one sentence: "Soon may the hound who hunts the boar seize him and bite him in the ear." This construction is possible or perhaps probable but not altogether certain. In taking desparately we have to supply a new verb, for जुष्मिषद् will not do here. On the other hand कर्णे is better construed with c. consequently d should be connected with c. But if we supply in d some verb meaning 'may shoot' or 'may pierce', "let the boar-hunter shoot at or pierce his ear" will by itself make quite good sense. Griffith's construction though simpler has the defect of making अर्पि superfluous. However, I leave the question undecided. But I ask my readers to remember the word वृषाहृयु for I shall have to refer to it again.

*Verse: 5:—*Again Indrāṇī's words according to all authorities. Indrāṇī continues in the same vein. But she first gives the ground for her anger. She has already said how Vṛṣākapi has been snatching away the portion of Indra. This altogether failed to make any impression on Indra for he asked in wonder why he grudged the 'beast' his sacrificial feast. Indrāṇī therefore changes her charge and now gives out that Vṛṣākapi had harmed *her* too. What is the harm she had suffered at his hand? Grassmann and Griffith suppose that Indrāṇī accuses Vṛṣākapi of having wantonly assaulted her. But where is the text to warrant such a view? The words are simply "प्रिया तृष्टानि मे कृपिव्यंक्ता व्यदुषत्" here. कृपिः is short form for वृषाकृपिः and has the same meaning ('tawny'—tawny-coloured animal) as हरितो



सृगः in v. 3. What things of Indrāṇī does this 'tawny-colored animal' spoil? Geldner<sup>25</sup> supposes that प्रिया तृष्टानि = the delightful limbs of Indrāṇī in which lies her womanly attraction but about which Vṛṣākapi speaks ill (व्यदुदुषत्). But the word तृष्टानि does not warrant this interpretation. It is derived from √ तृष् 'to artifice'; तृष्टानि would therefore mean 'well-made'. व्यक्ता is from √ अञ्ज् 'to besmear'; व्यक्ता (= व्यक्तानि) would literally mean 'well besmeared'. I therefore see no reason for rejecting the interpretation of Sāyaṇa for तृष्टानि (यजमानैः कल्पितानि हवींषि 'offerings prepared by the worshippers') and व्यक्ता ('आज्यैः विशेषेण अक्तानि' 'well besmeared with ghee'). मे may be in the sixth case ('of me') or, as Sāyaṇa takes it, in the fourth—dative of interest ('for me'). Consequently, I understand 'प्रिया तृष्टानि मे कुपिव्यक्तु व्यदुदुषत्' to mean that Indrāṇī accuses Vṛṣākapi of having spoiled the offerings of sacrificial cakes &c., she had been expecting, by eating of them and thereby turning the things into impure offals. This is a personal insult and as Indra seems to preserve a stolid appearance, Indrāṇī proposes to take the law into her own hands and punish the transgressor herself.

*Verse 6:*—Indrāṇī speaks again. She attempted to rouse the anger of Indra against Vṛṣākapi by mentioning in verses 1 and 2 how Indra was being injured by Vṛṣākapi. Verse 3 shows the callousness of Indra. In Verse 5, Indrāṇī said that she too was harmed by this 'tawny beast' and in the same way. To make Indra feel for her she now recounts her personal charms expecting thereby to seduce him into compliance. Her threat in v. 5 c d was an idle one.

*Verse 7:*—This verse is ascribed by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya,

25. Kommentar, p. 185.

Sāyaṇa, Geldner and Oldenberg to Vṛṣākapi and by Ludwig and Griffith to Indrāṇī. There is nothing in the previous verse to show that it was addressed to Vṛṣākapi. Why should then Vṛṣākapi thrust himself here? हृष्यति cannot be satisfactorily explained if Vṛṣākapi is the speaker here. The root हृष् means 'to be excited.' Vṛṣākapi's head may *tremble* for fear but cannot surely be *excited* with joy or (anger) and this 'trembling for fear' can be understood only after Indrāṇī's threats in verses 4 and 5 and not after the mention of her personal charms in verse 6. Besides, the address सुलभिके ('O thou, easy of access') for Indrāṇī is altogether inappropriate in Vṛṣākapi's mouth. She is not his wife but Indra's. Nor can the verse be ascribed to Indrāṇī for who can then be 'the mother easy of access'? I therefore propose to take this verse as coming from Indra as the following one is according to all opinions. Verse 6 was apparently addressed to him and we may well expect his reply now. It is the vocative अम्बा ('O mother') that has misled these interpreters for Indrāṇī is Indra's wife and not mother. Tilak who ascribes this verse to Indra says, "I prefer taking *ambā* as an affectionate and respectful mode of address, as in modern Sanskrit, and the verse presents no difficulty". But apparently अम्बा means (or may mean) 'O mother of your child (Vṛṣākapi)'. In many countries, fathers often address their wives as 'mother'—meaning of course 'mother of our children'. The word अम्बा may have been similarly used here. Indrāṇī mentions her personal charms in v.6. Indra admits her superiority in beauty in v.7 a and b: though Indrāṇī surrenders her charms for enjoyment, almost unasked, these are of no mean order—she is really, as she claims to be, the first in beauty. Indrāṇī's personal charms are also referred to elsewhere; compare Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā



III, 8, 4 and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa II, 4-2-7. in v.7 c and d, Indra admits with great courtesy<sup>26</sup> that her charms have an appeal for him.

*Verse 8:*—Indra's words according to all authorities. Indra repeats in lines a and b the excellence of Indrāṇī's personal charms. But in c and d he asks her again what makes her angry with Vṛṣākapi. There seems to be some significance in the address वृषपत्नि ('O hero's wife') : it is probably meant that a hero's wife should not chastise a poor creature like Vṛṣākapi.

*Verse 9:*—Indrāṇī replies, अवीराम् is paraphrased in the Nirukta (VI.31) by अवलाम्. But the accent is not of a नवत्पुंस् but of a बहुव्रीहि<sup>27</sup>. Consequently the meaning is 'not having heroes (or a hero)'. Now वीर in the R̥gveda generally means<sup>28</sup> 'a heroic son' or simply 'a son' 'अवीराम् in line a is matched by वीरिणी' in line c which certainly means 'having a hero or heroes'. Griffith translates 'अहम् अस्मि वीरिणी' by "Heroes for my sons have I". Why does he render then अवीराम् by "one bereft of hero's love"? Geldner renders *vīrā* in both अवीराम् and वीरिणी by 'son'. Childless women are generally held in much contempt. Indrāṇī says that she is being treated as such a one by Vṛṣākapi. But she emphatically declares that she is वीरिणी 'with children' for she is Indra's wife who can never be childless. Vṛṣākapi is certainly not her own son. Then what is her issue? 'I am a friend of the Maruts' probably means that these Maruts are her sons. I translate *sakhā*

26. I say 'with courtesy' because the वृ (वि is to be connected with हृष्यति) shows that his body is not actually excited with joy.

27. Pāṇini VI. 2.2 (with Vārtika on it) and VI. 2.172 Macdonell's Vedic Grammar (Grundriss) § 890 Bc. 91 A, 2-b.

28. See Grassmann, Wörterbuch, 1316.

by 'friend' in verses 1 and 9; but it is possible that in both the places the word has the connotation of *kinship*. A lady blessed with heroic children (the Maruts ?) should not be deprived of her share in the festive offering, consequently Vṛṣākapi has no justification in snatching away her portion. It seems now that Ṣaḍguruśiṣya is right in conceiving Vṛṣākapi as the step son of Indrāṇī. Indian folklore abounds in stories of a step-mother afflicting her step-son and we find here Indrāṇī trying to alienate her husband from her 'step-son' Vṛṣākapi.

*Verse 10:*—Ṣaḍguruśiṣya and Sāyaṇa ascribe this verse to Indrāṇī. Similarly Ludwig and Griffith. Geldner in the *Vedische Studien*<sup>29</sup> put it in the mouth of Vṛṣākapi but later<sup>30</sup> corrected himself by making Indrāṇī or Indra the speaker. Oldenberg too understands it as coming from the mouth of either Indrāṇī or Indra. I do not know for certain to which of the two the verse could be ascribed with better justice; it may be equally understood as Indrāṇī's speech or as Indra's utterance. However, I give preference to Indrāṇī hypothetically. But the meaning remains unaltered in either case. Barren women are considered a curse and they are likely to be excluded from festive meetings. But Indrāṇī, verse 10 informs us, is both the 'mother of heroes' (वीरिणी) and has accompanied her husband to sacrifices. (In actual ritual Indrāṇī had a share in the sacrifice.)

*Verse 11:*—This verse is attributed to Vṛṣākapi by Durgācārya (on Nir. XI. 38). Geldner makes Vṛṣākapāyī (wife or Vṛṣākapi) the speaker but his reasons are not apparent to me. Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, Sāyaṇa<sup>31</sup>, Ludwig, Griffith

29. II, 26.

30. *Kommentar*, 185.

31. Sāyaṇa's alternative ascription to Vṛṣākapi is the result of Durgācārya's influence.



and Oldenberg ascribe it to Indra. I think they are correct; for Indrāṇī addressed Indra and we would expect him to reply. The following verse which is certainly Indra's, does not contain any indication of a fresh speech. Leaving out the uncertain verse 10, we may hold that Indra replies to Indrāṇī in vv 11-14. In v. 11, Indra tries to soothe Indrāṇī. He says that she is the luckiest of women. Women in India (and probably everywhere else) consider the longevity and love of their husbands and the existence and well-being of thier sons as the highest fortune. Indrāṇī has this fortune. How then can she be excluded from sacrifices? The word *subhāgā* probably means here both beautiful and fortunate.

Verse 12:—Durgācārya ascribes it to Vṛṣākapi<sup>32</sup> perhaps carelessly for he contradicts himself in the very next sentence by saying “इन्द्रो ब्रवीति”. All else ascribe the verse to Indra. Indra tried to soothe Indrāṇī in the previous verse by making her the luckiest of women. He fully understands that Indrāṇī's real complaint was that Vṛṣākapi was receiving worship in the place of Indra and that the accusation in verse 5 and 9 is a clever lie or at least is secondary (being thrown out to rouse Indra from his callousness). Consequently he now gives his reply only on the point of his own alleged loss of worship.<sup>33</sup> He says that he never enjoys without his friend Vṛṣākapi. Consequently how can he envy him the wor-

32. “समानो विनियोगः पूर्वया, आर्षं च” on Nir. XI. 39 (M. M. Pandit Sivadata's edition). The previous verse commented on is the preceding one of our hymn, where Durga said “वृषाकपेरार्षम्”,

33. Had Indrāṇī charged Vṛṣākapi with having wantonly assaulted her as Grassmann and Griffith suppose, we would certainly have had Indra's reply on the point, if not actual retribution for that misdeed.

ship and oblations that he is receiving ? 'अप्यं' हविः 'watery oblation' probably refers to the Soma juice. Not only is Vṛṣākapi dear unto Indra, he is the favourite of all the gods. His dear oblation goes to all the gods and that means that all the gods enjoy his worship. How then can Indrāṇī incite envy against this dear friend of Indra ? (It should be remembered that Viṣṇu has been called इन्द्रस्य युज्युः सखा Indra's fast friend in R.V. I. 22. 19).

*Verse 13:*—Now comes some difficulty. Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, Sāyaṇa, Ludwig, Geldner and Griffith ascribe the verse to Vṛṣākapi but it seems better to follow Durgācārya<sup>34</sup> and Oldenberg in understanding Indra to be the speaker. Indra is the speaker of verses 12 and 14. What expression is there in v. 13 to show that it comes from a different mouth ? The vocative वृषाकपायि presents great difficulty. Who is this Vṛṣākapāyī ? The formation of the word seems to make her the wife of Vṛṣākapi and this is the only meaning which classical usage can attach to the word. Yāska (XII-8) following this usage ascribes this meaning to the word and he seems to be supported by the Nighaṇṭu (v. 6) enumeration. But it is possible that Vṛṣākapāyī means here Vṛṣākapi's mother (=step-mother, i. e. Indrāṇī) and not wife. This is the only meaning that can apparently suit the context. Sāyaṇa knew Yāska's words and the usage of his time. Still he felt constrained by the actual text to reject them in favour of the meaning Indrāṇī. His words are interesting as they show how he seeks not to do violence to the accepted formation of Vṛṣākapāyī, he says, "हे वृषाकपायि । कामनां वर्धकत्वादभीष्टदेशगमनाच्च इन्द्रो वृषाकपिस्तस्य पत्नि । यद्वा (being more sensible now) वृषाकपेः=मम (because he ascribes the verse to Vṛṣākapi) मातर इत्यर्थः". The mention of her good sons



and daughters-in-law may make one take Vṛṣākapyāī to be none other than Indrānī who has emphatically called herself वीरिणी (mother of heroes) in verse 9. The wealth referred to in the vocative रेवति connects itself naturally with the good fortune mentioned in verse 11. Verse 13 may therefore be taken as Indra's words addressed to Indrānī. Indra continues with his consolation. He first humours Indrānī by mentioning her wealth of children. He now says that he will take the offering of bulls. This probably means that though Vṛṣākapi gets the Soma oblation, Indra is not going unfed, for bulls are being offered to him. It is possible (or rather certain) that the Soma formed the chief offering and oblation of bulls etc. may possibly have been given to the secondary deities. Indra was the chief god of the Aryans for ages and the Soma was his special food. But the present hymn shows him brought down to a lower place and Vṛṣākapi (=the Sun=Viṣṇu) elevated to his seat. Consequently our poet makes Indra approve the offering of Soma for Vṛṣākapi in verse 12 and the oblation of bulls for himself in verse 13. The word क्वाचित्करम् is obscure to me and I have therefore left it untranslated in the rendering given above. Yāska gives it the meaning 'giving great joy'. Sāyaṇa necessarily follows him. Of European interpreters, Geldner<sup>35</sup> gives with a little hesitation 'what is of worth', Grassmann 'efficacious' and Ludwig and Griffith 'that which effecteth much'. The adjective प्रियं shows that Indra is thoroughly satisfied with the हविः that he is now getting and he has therefore no cause to be jealous of Vṛṣākapyāī. ते can be connected with वृक्षणः = 'thy bulls', but I prefer to connect it with the word that immediately follows it, viz., इन्द्रः; तु इन्द्रः = 'thy Indra' =

35. Glossar, p. 44

'Indra in whom thou art particularly interested'. That the bulls are not the offerings of Vṛṣākapi (=Indrāṇī) but of the humen worshippers is evidenced by the plural number in the verb पचति of the following verse.

*Note:*—If वृषाकपायि cannot mean 'Vṛṣākapi's mother' but must needs mean, on the analogy of अमायी (इन्द्राणी, दह्मन्ती etc.), Vṛṣākapi's wife', considerable alteration will have to be made in the interpretation of this verse. I can suggest an alteration which would both suit the context and fit in with my interpretations of the remaining verses (with, of course, slight modifications here and there). See below under note on verse 19 for this meaning which I prefer though I have relegated it to a note.

*Verse 14:*—The verse is ascribed by all to Indra and no doubt is possible on the point. Indra makes here a complimeniary reference the bulls that worshippers cook for him. The number of these bulls is according to Sāyaṇa 15+20=35. But I prefer to take it as '15 or 20'; if च can be supplied, surely वा can be.

*Verse 15*—It is put in the mouth of Vṛṣākapi by Geldner and to herself or her: husband Vṛṣākapi by Oldenberg but their reasons are not apparent to me. I therefore follow Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, Sāyaṇa, Ludwing and Griffith in attributing the verse to Indrāṇī. Indrāṇī now tries to win over Indra to her own view by rousing in him a temptation for the Soma draught. Indra has said in v. 12 that he is satisfied that the offering of Soma goes to Vṛṣākapi, which all the gods enjoy, and in vv. 13<sup>36</sup> and 14 that he is himself contended with only the offering of bulls. Indrāṇī now (in v. 15) praises the draught of Soma that his भ्रातृयुः prepares for him. The भ्रातृयुः ('seeker of

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36. But also see below under note on, v. 19.



his *bhāva*=love') may be Indrāṇī herself, in which case the Soma offering is made by her. But this is neither certain nor necessary, for the word may easily mean any devoted worshipper of Indra (*i. e.* an orthodox Aryan who had not given up pressing of Soma for Indra). Indra has expressed satisfaction at the bulls he is now getting as his portion. Indrāṇī therefore calls the Soma drink which he is now willingly going without as "like a sharp-horned bull bellowing among the herds." She expects thus to rouse his old fondness for this drink and then to make him jealous of Vṛṣākapi, the fellow who has usurped his place at the sacrifice.

*Verse 16:*—All ascribe this verse to Indrāṇī and I have no hesitation in following them. Wine and woman are the two great seducers of man. Indrāṇī tried the seduction of the former in the previous verse. Of the latter she has made an attempt already (v. 6) but she makes here a last frantic effort. She here derides the person who refrain from intercourse with woman. Her hope is that Indra will no longer be able to contain himself but will give himself up to her charms; and she will secure the banishment of Vṛṣākapi from the general worship of people.<sup>37</sup> Geldner thinks that ऋ: in the first half refers to Vṛṣākapi and in the second to Indra. But what ground is there for such a difference in treatment? Two different types of men are contrasted here: the type

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37. Compare Kekayī's (successful) attempt in the Rāmāyaṇa to secure the banishment of Rāma on the strength of her loving services to king Daśaratha rendered in the past. Compare also Iliad XIV, where Hera charms away Zeus from the view of the battle, that her own partisans, the Achaians, may not be thwarted by the great god in their attempts against Hector and the Trojan host.

mentioned in the first half is that of the celibate whom Indrāṇī derides as impotent and in the second comes in the bull-blooded gallant who is the really strong man according to her. Geldner's quotation<sup>38</sup> from the Hitopadeśa<sup>39</sup> is neither here nor there but the reference to R. V. VIII. 1.34 is quite apposite.

*Verse 17.*—Geldner ascribes it to Vṛṣākapāyī but there can be no sense in this view. I have already shown that *Kapi* in *Vṛṣākapi* does not mean 'monkey'. There is besides no difference between a monkey and a man (or a god anthropomorphically conceived) that would justify Vṛṣākapi's wife in reversing the statement of Indrāṇī.<sup>40</sup> I therefore feel no hesitation in rejecting Geldner's view. Ṣaḍguruśiṣya makes Indrāṇī the speaker. But why should she think of contradicting herself, of saying here just the opposite of what she has recently said? According to Sāyaṇa's statement in the सूक्तावतरणी too, Indrāṇī is the speaker of this verse but in his comments on the verse he makes Indra the speaker. Indra is the speaker according to Ludwig too. This is perfectly intelligible and I follow it. Indrāṇī set a trap for Indra in the previous verse and he here just refuses to be caught in it. He denies the correctness of her statement. He says that the person who wastes his manhood in sexual intercourse is the really impotent man, and the strong man is he who stores up his energy by continence.

38. Kommentar, p. 186.

39. "ततः तस्य मुष्कद्वयं लम्बमानम्", Hitopadeśa, ed. Peterson, p. 50.

40. Had the hero of the Hitopadeśa story been a man, his मुष्कद्वय would not have been लम्बमान only because of his clothes whose use the poor monkey did not know. The apish character lay not in the dangling of the मुष्कद्वय but in the animal's pulling out the wedge.



Sāyaṇa's remark on the difference with the previous verse deserves quoting again : "पूर्वोक्तव्यतिरेकोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः । पूर्वस्यामृचि यियप्पुरिन्द्राणी इन्द्रं वदति अत्र अयियप्पुरिन्द्र इन्द्राणीं वदतीत्यविरोधः ॥"

*Verse 18.*—Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, Sāyaṇa, Griffith and Ludwig ascribe it to Indrāṇī. Geldner stands alone in making Vṛṣākapi the speaker and he may be safely left alone. No wife of Vṛṣākapi probably takes part in this dialogue.<sup>41</sup> परस्वन्तम् is a difficult word and I do not understand its precise meaning. A wild animal may be meant but what particular animal I cannot make out. Indrāṇī's purpose has been foiled by Indra and she has no choice but to make up her quarrel. She now suffers Vṛṣākapi to receive हृत परस्वन्तम्, अग्निम्, सूनाम् and all that gear.

*Note.*—Does Indrāṇī want to suggest with feigned innocence that Vṛṣākapi should receive in the sacrifice animal offerings (which are really of secondary importance), [So that the chief offering—the Soma—might go over to her lord] ? परस्वन्तम् would then correspond to 'the fifteen or twenty bulls' Indra shows himself contended with in verse 14.

*Verse 19.*—All previous interpreters have put this verse in Indra's mouth and this ascription may be correct. If so, Indra probably means that as he goes about viewing people and discriminating between the Aryan and the non-Aryan, he cannot accept any and every offering that is given to him but must need make a selection—पिबामि पाकमुत्तमः : 'I drink of the oblation offered by the artless votary'. Hence what cares he, if he is not universally worshipped ? But probably Indra is not the speaker here. Indrāṇī has already said (v. 2), नो अहं प्रविन्दस्युन्यत्र सोमपीतये

41. Though of course she may have been addressed in v. 13.

‘Nor receivest thou elsewhere Soma to drink.’ It is difficult therefore to understand पिबामि पाकसुत्वनः to refer to Indra. The root *su* shows that the Soma drink is meant. If Indra is *nowhere* offered Soma, according to Indrāṇī’s statement, how can he have the drink of guileless (पाक) pressers of Soma (सुत्वन्) ? I therefore propose to take Vṛṣākapi to be the speaker. The previous verse shows Indrāṇī reconciled to him and he may have made bold to open his lips now. Vṛṣākapi is certainly glad now and can we not expect him to break into a description of his own doings ? “I come viewing all the quarters, discriminating the Dāsa and the Ārya” would be more appropriate in the lips of Vṛṣākapi, a solar god; though “discriminating the Dāsa and the Ārya” alone will easily suit Indra. In VIII ४० 2 it has been said about Indra “एषि...गृह्णं हं विचाकंशत्” ‘thou comest looking from door to door’ and that may be considered as parallel to “अयमेमि विचाकंशत्” here. But the passage in the eighth *maṇḍala* qualifies विचाकंशत् by गृह्णं हम्—Indra looks at every door (for his coveted Soma)—whereas in the passage under discussion, there being no such qualification, ‘viewing all the quarters’ would be the only natural sense. This latter meaning is more intelligible in the case of a solar deity; *c. f.* ‘विजनाच्छचावाः क्षितिपादो अरव्यन्’ (I.35.5), “वि द्यामेवि...पश्यञ्जन्मानि सूर्य” (I.50.7) etc. If we take Vṛṣākapi to be the speaker, the whole verse becomes easily intelligible and connection with the previous and the following verses becomes quite patent. Indrāṇī said in v. 18 that Vṛṣākapi might receive his (usual ?) meat—offering and he probably brags now of his greatness—as he goes through the firmament viewing all creatures, he can well understand who is the Aryan (bounteous) offerer and who is the Dāsa (niggard). Indra



has been frequently mentioned as preferring the bounteous Aryan over the niggardly non-Aryan (Dāsa or Paṇi). Vṛṣākapi therefore probably lays claim to the same function. He complacently speaks of how he accepts the Soma drink (that was formerly Indra's wont). The connexion with the following verses will be manifest below.

*Note.*—If the suggestion thrown out in the previous note can be accepted, the following alteration should be made. Indrāṇī suggested in v. 18 with feigned innocence that Vṛṣākapi should content himself with offerings of animals (only). But the clever Vṛṣākapi, supremely conscious of his own importance and Indra's kind indulgence, replies here, "I travel through the whole firmament looking at people and discriminating the Dāsa<sup>42a</sup> and Ārya (and I shall therefore claim, as a matter of right, the Soma offering of the pious=Aryan worshipper)". Failing to win Indra over to her view, Indrāṇī may have tried in v. 18 to induce Vṛṣākapi (her very object of envy) to surrender the Soma offering (to her lord) but he insists on having this oblation.

Indrāṇī may have already (in v. 13) approached Vṛṣākapi's wife with a similar request, if वृषाकपायि means 'Vṛṣākapi's wife'. Failing to rouse the anger of Indra, she may have asked the rich<sup>42b</sup> wife of Vṛṣākapi to allow Indra to share in 'her bulls and dear क्वचित्कर oblation'. If Vṛṣākapi's wife is सुवृत्रा and सुस्तुषा, Vṛṣākapi may well have derided Indrāṇī on account of her barrenness (see v. 9.) "प्रियं क्वचित्करं हविः" in v. 13 may be a parallel to 'अप्यं हविः प्रियम्' in the previous verse, in which case क्वचित्करम् may correspond to अप्यम् and mean 'watery' or

42 a. Dāsa does not have a racial connotation, it has the connotation of one who is impious and ignoble (vide paper on Dāsa)

42 b. In the offerings she and her lord receive from their worshippers ?

better 'cooling'. If Vṛṣākapi's wife has been addressed in v. 13, ते should be connected with रुक्मिणी: ॐc.—Indrāṇī prays that Vṛṣākapāyī should allow Indra to share in the offerings of bulls and the Soma oblation that she receives (along with her lord). Vṛṣākapāyī probably pays no heed but Indra magnanimously interposes in v. 14 that he is satisfied with only bulls (secondary offerings?) and is content to go without the Soma (principal offering?). But Indrāṇī tries in v. 15 to induce a longing for the draught in Indra's mind. In v. 16 she tries erotic inducements but is rebutted in the following verse. In despair, she approaches in v. 18 Vṛṣākapi himself but he too is impervious (v. 19) to her entreaties. Her case is wholly lost and she must have the good grace to show herself reconciled to Vṛṣākapi (vv. 21, 22 or 20-22 below).

*Verse 20.*—This verse is ascribed by all to Indra. At the mention in v. 19a of Vṛṣākapi's motion through the firmament, Indra probably makes here a complimentary reference to that cosmic feat of the solar deity घनं च यत्कृन्तत्रं च कतिस्वित्ता वि योजना requires a gerund meaning 'crossing (which)' or a particle meaning '(through which)' to complete the sense and to connect it with the other half of the verse and I consider this supplying of the ellipsis simpler and more natural than the construction put upon the verse by my predecessors. Griffith translates, "The desert plains and steep descents, how many leagues in length they spread ! Go to the nearest houses, go unto thine home, Vṛṣākapi. Supreme is Indra over all". He has but followed Ludwig and Grassmann. He thus annotates on the passage, "Vṛṣākapi appears to meditate flight into distant deserts to escape from the wrathful Indrāṇī. Indra dissuades him, and promises to



reconcile Indrāṇī to him". Is this not a far-fetched interpretation? There is no explicit or implicit reference to Vṛṣākapi's flight for fear of Indrāṇī in any of the previous verses. Why then this assumption of his flight? Verse 18 has shown Indrāṇī suggesting that Vṛṣākapi should receive an offering of animals, slaughtered and duly cooked. Probably an earlier verse (v. 13) contains her pleading to Vṛṣākapi's wife. How can he then still fear her so as to *contemplate* a flight to distant lands? If it be said, that he has *already* left for those regions and is being coaxed now to return as he has no *angry* mother (or step-mother) to meet now, the difficulty about Indrāṇī's address to Vṛṣākapāyī in v. 13 and her reference about Vṛṣākapi in v. 18 remain unaccountable. Verse 19 too, as coming from Vṛṣākapi's lips militates against such an assumption. But if the verse is to be ascribed to Indra, why should he waste words over what he does or does not when his favourite 'son' has to be recalled from voluntary banishment? To connect the two halves of the verse Grassmann uses the conjunction 'therefore' ('drum'). He consequently means that the speaker of v. 20 tries to impress on Vṛṣākapi the frightful character of the way he has chosen and asks him to leave it for a safer land, the land where he has his home. But as Vṛṣākapi has chosen that region (if he has gone there at all) with full knowledge and on purpose—so as to remain safe from Indrāṇī—how can he be induced to leave it through fear? We should expect instead mention of Indrāṇī's present good will (सौमनस or सुम), the only possible inducement.

I therefore supply 'crossing which' or 'through which' to connect the two halves of the verse. I have already referred to I. 35.8 a, b 'अष्टौ व्यस्यत् कुकुभः पृथिव्यास्त्री धन्व योजना'

and mentioned that as a parallel to X 86. 20 a, b घन्वं and योजना are common to both and कृत्तव्यं if it means 'steep regions', as most interpreters have understood the word, is the exact correspondent of ककुभः (peaks<sup>43</sup>) in I. 35. 8 a. The obvious conclusion from this correspondence is the solar character of Vṛṣākapi. Geldner<sup>44</sup> has cited I. 35. 8 as parallel but has not realised its necessary implication. If Indra spoke in v. 19, he asks Vṛṣākapi here only to return home after finishing his *daily* course through those deserts and peaks and leagues. But as Vṛṣākapi was more probably the speaker there, Indra now fondly dilates on the great distance his favourite 'son' has to traverse everyday, being reminded of it at its (incidental) mention in v. 19 (अयमेमि विचाकंशत्).

'नेदीयसः': Sāyaṇa takes as ablative singular but it is better to follow the other interpreters in taking it as adjective to गृहान्. अस्त usually means in the R̥gveda 'house'. But as गृहान् is also mentioned here, I prefer to approximate अस्तम् to the later meaning of 'setting'—नेदीयसो गृहान् उप अस्तम् एहि='set and come down towards thy *nedīyas* home.' X. 86 is a very late hymn of the R̥gveda and a closer connection with classical usage may be expected here. Sāyaṇa and all European interpreters have rendered नेदीयस् by 'nearer', but I have followed Tilak in giving it the meaning '*nether*' ('lower')—a meaning for which he seems to have made a strong case.<sup>45</sup> The setting of the sun is apparently his going down and when he sets, he goes to the other part of the earth. The gods were probably conceived as dwelling

43. The 'eight peaks' may be eight imaginary hills in the eight directions, whence the later meaning of ककुभः as दिशः

44. Kommentar, p. 187.

45. Orion, ch. VII note on R. V. X 86. 20.



there. To support this assumption of mine I may refer to I. 35 again—but this time to verses 6 and 7 of the hymn: तिस्रो द्यावः सवितुर्द्वा उपस्थौ एका यमस्य भुवने विराषाट् । आणिं न रथ्यममृताधि तस्थुरिह ब्रवीतु य उ तच्चिकेतत् ॥ वि सुपुर्णो अन्तरिक्षाण्यख्यद् गभीरवैषा असुरः सुनीयः । क्वे ३ दानौ सूर्यः कश्चिकेत कतमां द्यां रुश्मिरस्या ततान ॥ The former verse contains a riddle, which is repeated in the latter. By reading the two verses together carefully the solution of the riddle is easily obtained. Verse 6 declares that there are three heavens (=regions); of them, two are the laps of Savitr and are therefore fully illumined by him. The one that is in the region of Yama must needs be the third heaven. What is that ? Verse 7 indicates the answer. We have in lines a and b of this verse reference to the sun's *having traversed* the firmament above use; इदानीम् therefore means 'after that', i.e. 'after the sun has set'. The poet wants to be told where the sun shines after he disappears from human sight. Most clearly the sun goes down after he sets. The poet most probably believes that the sun's great lamp is not extinguished but shines below this earth.<sup>46</sup>

The first two regions are therefore the earth and the heaven above (between which the sun moves) and the third is the world below this earth. That is clearly the region of Yama. If it is the region of Yama, it is also the abode of the gods for देवैः सु पिबन्ते यमः (X. 135.1) 'Yama

46. Differently, of course, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, III 44 : "स वा एष न कदाचनास्तमेति नोदेति तं यदस्तमेतीति मन्यस्तेऽह्ण एव तदन्तमित्वाऽथात्मानं विपर्यस्यते रात्रौमेवावस्तात्कुस्तेऽहः परस्तात् । अथ यदेनं प्रातरुदेतीति मन्यन्ते रात्रेरेव तदन्तमित्वाऽथात्मानं विपर्यस्यतेऽहरेवावस्तात्कुस्ते रात्रि परस्तात् । स वा एष न कदाचन निम्रोचतीति ॥ We have here neither an old idea nor a contemporary one but only a dogmatic *innovation* in the usual Brāhmaṇa style.

drinks with the gods'. I may mention here the Greek conception of Hades living below the earth and the departed heroes dwelling in bliss in his company. But I am not at all certain that Tilak<sup>47</sup> is justified in localising the third 'foot' of Viṣṇu too below our world. That the sun illumines Yama's region may be an idea peculiar to the poet of R.V.I. 35 alone, for otherwise he would not have thrown out the riddle.<sup>48</sup> As when the sun sets here he goes to dwell in the company of gods, Indra invites Vṛṣākapi to his presence saying: "The deserts and the steep descents and how many are the leagues thou hast to pass! Through them come down, Vṛṣākapi, to thine home in lower realms". गृह् when masculine is used in the plural though the sense may require the singular number. नेदीयसो गृहान् therefore=नेदीयो गृहम्. This nether home is also the abode of Indra (and Indrāṇī). He therefore calls back Vṛṣākapi to the common home after his day's toil through all the upper space. He must have been highly satisfied at Vṛṣākapi's not allowing himself to be caught in the trap set by Indrāṇī (in v.18).<sup>49</sup>

*Note:*—All this on the supposition that Indra is the speaker of the verse. But it may be as well put in Indrāṇī's mouth. The only alteration that this would entail is that Indrāṇī with a good grace becoming (?) of a 'hero's wife' speaks here kind words of welcome to the person

47. Arctic Home in the Vedas, p. 331.

48. I must not also be assumed to accept Tilak's contention (Arctic Home, Ch. X p. 308 ff.) that the R̥gvedic Aryans knew the earth to be a globe.

49. This is of course on the assumption, to my mind the more justifiable, that Vṛṣākapi is the speaker in v. 19 and not Indra.



she failed to injure. No recalling from banishment need be thrust here even according to this new interpretation.

*Verse: 21:*—Geldner in the 'Vedische Studien' ascribed this verse to Indra but in the 'Rgveda in Auswahl', he supposes that either Indra or Indrāṇī may be the speaker. Oldenberg follows the latter view but with some uncertainty. Griffith, Ṣaḍguruśiṣya and Sāyaṇa make Indra the speaker. Durgācārya (on Nir. XII. 28) makes the impossible assumption that it comes from Vṛṣākapi's lips (वृषाकपेरापम्). Ludwig supposes Vṛṣākapyāyī to be the speaker but what is the necessity for dragging her in here? The verse is certainly in continuation of what has just gone before. If Indra was the speaker there, we may naturally understand him to be the speaker here too; and if Indrāṇī was the speaker, it is she who is speaking now. कल्पयावहे is in the dual number: therefore two persons must be understood as its subject. They may be Indra and Vṛṣākapi—"सुविता कल्पयावहे" meaning, 'we two shall arrange enjoyments for ourselves'; or Indra and Indrāṇī (or Indrāṇī and Indra), the second person, though not actually speaking being mentally associated—"सुविता कल्पयावहे" now meaning 'we two shall arrange enjoyments for thee'. Indra and Indrāṇī may also be directly conceived as the speakers of this verse. I would, however, personally prefer to take Indrāṇī to be sole speaker in verses 20, 21 and 22. The dual number in the verb of 21 b will be justified by the mental association of Indra. A better view, however, may be that Indrāṇī associates with herself not Indra but Vṛṣākapi's wife Vṛṣākapyāyī, if, of course, such a person is referred to in v. 13. In any view, we have here Indrāṇī thoroughly reconciled to Vṛṣākapi. पुनरेहि gives a mere repetition of अस्तुमेहि in the previous verse. सुविता (=सुवितानि) is the opposite of दुरितानि. As it is in the plural I have

rendered it into English by 'blessed enjoyments' instead of by 'welfare' that would have suited सुवितम् in the singular. य एषः refer to त्वम् understood in the first hemistich. स्वप्ननशनः Yāska renders by 'destroyer of sleep'. He writes "स्वप्नान् नाशयत्यादित्य उदयेन". But I have already pointed out that नशन may have been as well formed from नाś 'to attain'; 'bringer of sleep' would then be the meaning of the compound. The derivation and the meaning proposed by Yāska and followed by Sāyaṇa (and Geldner) may also suit the context. The construction will be a little different in the two cases. अस्तुमेहि in v. 20 and पुनरेहि in 21a could be easily taken, by themselves, to mean 'come back to us, Vṛṣākapi, who hast fled away for fear of Indrāṇī' as some of our predecessors have done. But "य एषः...अस्तुमेहि...पुनः" makes this meaning, impossible. 'come again, thou, who comest home again' gives absolutely no sense, if we suppose that Vṛṣākapi has fled away for only once. But if we suppose that Vṛṣākapi is being requested to return home as he does every day, no difficulty arises at all. I, therefore take 'अस्तुमेहि पुरा पुनः' to mean 'who comest home again and again by thine olden path'. The beaten track of the sun is frequently referred to; cf. ये ते पन्थाः सवितः पूर्यासोऽरेणवः सुकृता अन्तिरिक्षे । तेभिर्नो ब्रूय पृथिभिः सुगेभी रक्षा च नो अधि च ब्रूहि, देव ॥ R. V. I. 35. 11. If नश्न is form √ नश् 'to disappear', the meaning for the second hemistich would be "Thou, killer of sleep (i.e. rouser of men from sleep), who comest home again and again (everyday) (after finishing thy day's journey through the upper spaces)". If it is from √ नश् 'to reach', we would have, "Thou, who, bringing in sleep (i. e. laying down creatures to rest—cf. 'निवेशयन्मृतं मर्त्यं च' I. 35. 2b) comest home again and again (everyday)." I consider both these interpretations possible but the second more natural.



Verse 22—Ṣaḍguruśiṣya and Sāyaṇa make Indra the speaker of this verse. But as we have इन्द्र in the vocative in the second line he cannot be the speaker here. Geldner supposes that the writer (ऋषिः 'Seer') of the hymn is the speaker. This is quite possible but is not altogether certain. Another plausible view is that of Durgācārya, followed by Griffith and with some uncertainty by Oldenberg, viz., that it comes from Indrāṇī. Sāyaṇa has given this as an alternative explanation. Durgācārya and Sāyaṇa, however, make वृषाकपे and इन्द्र refer to the same person (Vṛṣākapi). But how is that possible? 'अजगन्त' is paraphrased by Yāska (?) in Nir XIII. 3 as अजगन्त. But the termination is certainly that of the active (परस्मैपद) plural (in the second person and plu-perfect tense). We cannot therefore refer it to one person. We have the plural number in Sanskrit when we have more than two persons. But in the present case only two persons have been addressed in the vocative, Vṛṣākapi and Indra. We should therefore take अजगन्त to be an irregular<sup>50</sup> plural for the dual. Geldner's statement<sup>51</sup> that the plural is used because there are four persons is open to the objection that Indrāṇī and Vṛṣākapāyī have not been addressed here, along with Indra and Vṛṣākapi. The objection is, however, not a serious one; for if Indrāṇī can mentally associate Vṛṣākapāyī with herself in v. 21, the seer of the hymn (who is the speaker of v. 22, according to Geldner) can certainly associate in mind Indrāṇī with Indra and Vṛṣākapāyī with Vṛṣākapi. "उदञ्चः" Durgācārya explains as in the singular number but Sāyaṇa more sensibly takes it to be

50. For a somewhat similar irregularity, c. f. हृदयानि नौ in R. V. X. 85. 47b.

51. Kommentar, p. 187.

in the plural. Here too we must either understand the dual number or make the word adjective to Indra, Vṛṣākapi and their respective wives.

In the previous verse Vṛṣākapi has been welcomed back by Indrāṇī (or Indra) to their common home. 'उदञ्चः'<sup>52</sup> should therefore mean 'who *were* in the upper heavens'. After Vṛṣākapi and Indra reach their home, which is below the earth<sup>53</sup>, the earth becomes enveloped in darkness. Hence the poet<sup>54</sup> asks what then becomes of that 'dread beast' who was so long roaming about the firmament. I would again refer to I. 35 (verse 7: विसृपुर्णो अन्तरिक्षाण्यस्यद्गभीरवेषा असुरः सुनीयः । क्रे ई दानीं सूर्यः कश्चिकेत कतुमां द्यां रुश्मिरस्या ततान ॥). For "पुल्वघो मृगः". I have already cited the parallel I. 154.2b "मृगो न भीमः कुचुरः" (said, it should be remembered, about Viṣṇu=Sun). This verse very conclusively establishes that Vṛṣākapi is the Sun. Durgācārya's words on the verse deserve quotation here: "...वृषाकपे इन्द्रं यदा त्वम् 'यदञ्चः' उदङ्ङेव वर्तमानः प्रदक्षिणं भुवनानि परिगच्छन् 'गृहम्' 'अजगन्तन गृहानुप्रवेशे हि व्यवधीयते, व्यवधीयते च भगवानस्तं गच्छन्नादित्यः, इत्येतस्मात् सामान्यादुच्यते 'गृहमिन्द्राजगन्तन' इति । तदा त्वयि गृहमुपगते अदृश्ये निरालोको लोकः<sup>55</sup> सहस्रं विस्मिता ब्रवीति 'कस्यः पुल्वघो मृगः'...(on Nir. XIII. 3). I have no alteration to suggest excepting the substitution of the dual or plural number for the singular in त्वम् etc. The meaning of पुल्वघः' has been already discussed. 'जुनयोपनः' Durga renders by जनमोहनः and Sāyaṇa by जनानां मोद-(ह ?)-यिता. 'To delude' is also the meaning of the root युप् according to Pāṇini. Grassmann renders 'जुनयोपनः' by 'tormentor of people'.

52. This probably militates against Geldner's view for certainly Indrāṇī and Vṛṣākapi had not gone out of the 'house'.

53. See above on pp. 130-132.

54. Accepting of course Geldner's view that both 22 and 23 are spoken by the author.

55. This should make the author speaker here.



Ludwig by (obstructor of people', Griffith by 'who troubles people', but Geldner following Durgācārya by 'misleader of people'. I cannot suggest any rendering with certainty but I tentatively propose 'charmer of people'.

*Verse 23:*—This verse has been ascribed by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya and Sāyaṇa to Vṛṣākapi and by Ludgwig to Vṛṣākapāyī. Griffith makes Indrāṇī the speaker. Oldenberg suggests with some doubt that either Indra or Vṛṣākapi spoke this verse. But I have little hesitation in rejecting all these views and taking the author of the hymn to be the speaker here. I do not however stand alone but I have the support of Professor Geldner.<sup>56</sup> The verse has all the appearance of an author's personal remarks at the conclusion of a poem and I therefore understand it to contain the writer's own words about her<sup>57</sup> own self. The third person constitutes no difficulty for Ṛgvedic poets have referred to themselves as often in the third person as in the first; *cf.* I. 85. 11, VII. 33. 6 & c., I differ here from Professor Geldner only in the view<sup>58</sup> that the author speaks about Vṛṣākapāyī. We often find authors of Ṛgvedic hymns giving their names in concluding verses; *of.* III. 62. 18. The name of our author seems to be *Parśu Mānavī*: it is then a lady who has been pleading so cleverly for the worship of Vṛṣākapi the sun. 'Mānavī' can mean 'Manu's daughter' but the more likely meaning would be here, as usually, 'the woman' or 'the human wife'.<sup>59</sup> Geldner<sup>60</sup> refers to Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa III. 2.2.2 for 'Párśu

56. *Vedisch Studien*, II. 38.

57. That the author is a lady will be shown now.

58. *Vedische Studien*, II. 42.

59. Grassmann (*Uebersetzung* II, 486) renders "Das menschliche Weib, Parśu mit Namen."

60. *Vedische Studien*, II, 42, *Kommentar*, 187.

Mānvi' but the reference is without any point. The passage is a *Brāhmaṇa* on the *Mantras* (in *Taittirīya Samhitā* I. 1. 2) in connection with *aśvaparsūdharāṇa*. For "प्रेयमगाद्विषणा बृहिरच्छ मनुना कृता स्वधया वितुष्टा" in the *Mantra* we have the *Brāhmaṇa* "प्रेयमगाद्विषणा बृहिरच्छेत्याह । विद्या वै धिषणा विद्ययै वैतुदच्छेति । मनुना कृता स्वधया वितुष्टे त्याह । मानवी हि पशुः स्वधाकृता ॥" Here 'मानवी हि पशुः' is an attempt at explaining मनुना कृता in the *Mantra*. It should be noted that the word 'पशुः', does not occur in the formula. It is धिषणा (*vedi* ?), which has been called मनुना कृता in the *Mantra*; but पशुः has been dragged in by the *Brāhmaṇa*. The only thing that the *Brāhmaṇa* passage proves is that its author was acquainted with our hymn and tried to interpret the *Mantra* with words taken from the *R̥gveda*. It is unnecessary to labour the point further, for Professor Geldner has not himself paid any serious heed to the *Taittirīya* passage in the rendering of R. V. 86. 23a.<sup>61</sup>

In *Pārsū* 'Mānavi', 'Mānavi' can hardly be the personal name. 'Pārsu' alone can be the name of the writer. But *gotra* names are so often used in Vedic literature instead of personal names, that we cannot be sure that we have not a *gotra* or a clan name here. If it is in *gotra* or a clan name, the connection with Persia naturally suggests itself to one's mind. Ludwig<sup>62</sup> and Weber<sup>63</sup> believe that the word 'Pārsu' has been used in the *R̥gveda* in the sense of Persians. Zimmer<sup>64</sup> has rejected the view but there is neither any inherent improbability in it nor any cogent ground against it. Professors Macdonell and Keith, who seem to follow

61. Cf. *Vedische studien*, II, 28, Glossar, 107, 135.

62. *Mantralitteratur* (Der *R̥gveda*, übersetzt, III) § 45.

63. See Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index*, I, 504.

64. *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 135—138.



Zimmer, had to say at least, "At most the only conclusion to be drawn is that the Indians and Iranians were early connected, as was of course the case."<sup>65</sup> It is certain that Ludwig's interpretation of X. 33.2 सं मा तपन्त्यु-भितः सुपत्नीरिव पशंवः । नि बाधते अमंतिर्ननुता जसुर्वेन वेवीयते मृतिः ॥ is impossible: पशंवः here must mean 'ribs', 'sides'. In VII. 83.1 'युवां नरा पश्यमानास् आप्यं प्राचा गव्यन्तः पृथुपशवो ययुः । दासा च वृत्रा हतमार्गणि च सुदासमिन्द्रावरुणावसावतम् ॥' too Parthians and Persians are not referred to. Still, there is at least one passage in the R̥gveda, viz., VIII. 6.46, where 'Pārśu' does not mean 'rib' but is a name. In X. 86. 23 too 'Pārśu' is certainly a name. But a *woman* cannot bear the same name as can be given to *man*. We have therefore a family name or a clan name here and not a personal name. Zimmer<sup>66</sup> says "Pārśu as a proper name is not at all so rare in Sanskrit that at its occurrence the distant Iranian race must be suggested at once." It is true that Pāṇini<sup>67</sup> mentions the Pārśus but they are a tribe of mercenary or fighting people.<sup>68</sup> The Perses are found called Parśus Pa-ar-sus in the Babylonian inscriptions<sup>69</sup> and they were certainly a warlike people who taught their sons "to ride, to draw the bow and to speak the truth."<sup>70</sup> Cannot Pāṇini's Parśus be connected with these people? Some of the other names in the Ganapāṭha under the *Parsvādi* class seem to be of foreign tribes and

65. Vedic Index, I, 505.

66. Altindisches Leben, 137.

67. V. 3. 117 "पश्वादिषीधेयादिभ्योऽणञौ"

68. Compare Pāṇini v. 3. 114 "आयुधजीविसङ्घात्रज्यङ्वाहीकेष्वब्राह्मण-राजन्यात्"

69. See the Babylonian text (in Weissbach) of Darius Bisutun, Do. Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustum.

70. Herodotus I. 136.

the Parśus may have been people of Iran or living on the outskirts of India proper in Pāṇini's time but there is nothing to show the Parśu individuals mentioned in the R̥gveda are foreigners. On the contrary, R. V. VIII. 6.46 proves that the Parśu people were originally identical with or formed a section of the Yādvas—the Yādvas who were one of the five tribes of the Vedic Aryans.

This hymn is addressed to Indra and concludes with a *trca* containing, according to the Anukramaṇī, dānastuti of Tirindira Pāraśavya. The three verses are: शतम्हं तिरिन्दिरे सहस्रं पश्चाद्वा ददे । राधासि याद्वानाम् ॥४६॥ त्रीणि शताण्यर्वा तां सहस्रं दश गोनाम् । द्रुप्पुज्याय साम्ने ॥४७॥ उदानट् ककुहो दिवमुष्ट्राञ्चतुर्युजो ददत् । श्रवसा याद्वं जनम् ॥४८॥ Griffith translates 46 as "A hundred thousand have I gained from Parśu, from Tirindira. And presents of the Yādvas." He makes 'Tirindira' and 'Parśu' refer to the same person. But this treatment of शतम् and सहस्रं is impossible. The separation of सहस्रम् from शतम् by अहं and तिरिन्दिरे and the balancing of 'शतं तिरिन्दिरे' by 'सहस्रं पशौ' show that शतम् and सहस्रम् are two distinct objects of आददे and शतम् is not the adjective of सहस्रम्. We should therefore translate with Grassmann, "Presents of the Yadus I have received, a hundred from Tirindira, a thousand from Parśu." This might suggest that Tirindira and Parśu must be two different individuals and Professors Macdonnell and Keith<sup>71</sup> have taken this view. But this is not at all necessary. In the following verse some people (the same Yādvas?) are praised for a gift to Pajra Sāman of three hundred horses and ten thousand cows, both horses and cows (though different in number) come from the same source. We may similarly interpret the previous verse as meaning that one donor gave to our poet (Vatsa-

71. Vedic Index I., 310.



Kāṇva) as hundred heads of one species (horses) and a thousand of another (cows). Tirindira and Parśu may be thus identified. The separate mention of the two names need only suggest that Tirindira is the personal name and Parśu the family or clan name. It may not be necessary therefore to reject with Macdonell and Keith<sup>72</sup> the statement of the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI. 11.20) and of the (on R. V. VIII. 6, Macdonell's edition, p. 28) that Tirindira was Pārśavya (descendant of Parśu). Whether we may make Tirindira a Parśu or not याद्वानाम् must be connected (in sense) with both तिरिन्दिरे and पशौ<sup>1</sup>. We have therefore a Parśu or the Parśus as Yādava. Sāyaṇa, to be sure, proposes as an alternative interpretation that Parśu Tirindira snatched away the wealth of the Yādavas and gave of it to our poet but probability goes against him. There is no nominative in verse 47; to suit the plural verb वृद्धः, we must bring in the nearest substantive in plural and that is certainly याद्वानाम् at the end of the previous verse—it is probably the munificence of the Yadus which is being extolled in verse 47. Tirindira Parśu (or say Tirindira and Parśu) eulogised in v. 46 cannot therefore be the enemy (or enemies) of the self-same Yadus. These Yādavas formed an ancient Indo-Aryan tribe, mentioned throughout the R̥gveda. This should make the Parśus—Perses a section of the Indian community. Professors Macdonell and Keith have admitted<sup>73</sup>, “Yadu princes must be meant by Tirindira and Parśu.” If one Parśu is a Yādava, why cannot another (say, the author of R. V. X. 86) belong to the same race? I do not see why we should not derive the Perses of Iran from the Yādavas of India.

72. Vedic Index II. 310 and 504.

73. Vedic Index I. 310-311.

The concluding verse of the hymn extols the gift of one individual, because *अनृद्*, *कृकुहः* *ददत्* are in the singular number. 'कृकुह' means a pre-eminent or excellent animal<sup>74</sup> in R.V. I. 46.3., I. 81. 5, I. 184. 3, IV. 44.2, V. 72. 7 and V. 75.4 and the term has been applied to the Maruts in II. 34.11, to Viṣṇu in III. 54.14, to Indra in VIII. 45.14 and to the soma juice in IX. 67.8. The word should therefore mean here 'the great one'. Grassmann in his Dictionary (309) puts down the word *कृकुहः* in VIII. 6.48 as meaning 'a prominent animal of the yoke' ('hervorragendes Zugthier') but in his translation (I, 558) he corrected himself to 'great one' (Der-grosse). That great one, eulogised as having mounted up to heaven by the very giving of *uśtras*<sup>75</sup> yoked in four (to our poet ?) should be, according to the context, the same person whose munificence our poet has set out to immortalise. That person is certainly mentioned in the first verse (no. 46) of the *trca*. We should therefore read in that verse reference to only one individual.<sup>76</sup> *Parśu* is thus a family or clan name of Tirindira. A verb has to be supplied in line c of verse 48 and that should be *उदानृद्* in line a. Verse 48 should be translated thus: "The great one has mounted up to heaven by the giving of camels yoked in four and has attained in fame the (entire) Yadu host."<sup>77</sup> The last portion may be easily taken to mean 'has distinguished himself most among the Yadus', a sense which

74. Or a prominent or humped animal, say a camel or a humped bull.

75. Camels; the usual European rendering is 'buffaloes'. See Vedic Index I, p. 104.

76. Because *कृकुहः* is in the singular.

77. I have little hesitation in setting aside Grassmann's emendation (übersetzung, p. 558) of *जनम्* into *पशुम्*.



very well accords with the context. Here too there is no indication of rivalry or enmity between the patron of the poet and the Yādavas. The greatest objection against taking the Yādavas mentioned in VIII. 6.46 and 48 as inimical to Vatsa Kāṇva's patron Tirindira Parśu (or Tirindira and Parśu) is the fact that the Kāṇvas are the *friends of the Yadus*; c. f. R.V. I. 36. 18, VIII. 4.7, VIII. 7.18, VIII. 9.14, VIII. 10.5, VIII. 45.26. Sāyaṇa's alternative explanation of verse 46 may therefore be safely set aside. I do not want to deny that some slight distinction is made between Tirindira Parśu and the Yādavas but that is easily explained by taking the prince to belong to a distinct clan of the Yadu race.

R.V. VIII. 6.46-48 is not the only passage which suggests the Parśus=the Perses to be a section of the Yādavas. The word 'yādva' occurs four times in the R̥gveda, in VIII. 6.46 and VIII. 6.48, quoted above, in VII 19.8 (by the side of "Turvāśam) and in VIII. 1.31. Hymn VIII. 1 contains in verses 1-29 praise of Indra and in the following, 4 verses a *dānastuti*. The four verses are स्तुहि स्तुही देते वा ते महिष्ठासो मघोनाम् । निन्दिताश्वः प्रपथी परंमज्या मघस्य मेघ्यातिथे ॥३०॥ आ यदश्वान् वनन्वतः श्रद्धयाहं रथे रहम् । उत वामस्य वसुनश्चिकेतति यो अस्ति यादवः पशुः ॥३१॥ य ऋज्जा मह्यं मामहे सह त्वचा हिरण्यया । एष विश्वान्यभ्यस्तु सौभगासङ्गस्य स्वन्द्रेथः ॥३२॥ अथ प्लायोगिरिति दासद्वयनासङ्गो अग्ने दशभिः सहस्रैः । अवोक्षणो दश मह्यं स्वान्तो नृला इव सरणिनिरतिष्ठन् ॥३३॥ Verses 30 and 31 are to be taken together, otherwise, यत् in 31 *a* cannot be properly construed and the sense of 31 remains incomplete and उत ('and') in line *c* becomes meaningless. Besides the liberal patrons enumerated in verse 30 we have undoubtedly another such name in 31 *c.d*. That patron is यो अस्ति यादवः पशुः who is Yādava paśu 'पशुः' Sāyaṇa renders as पशुमान् 'rich in cattle'. But no grammatic justification can be found for

this explanation. Neither is it intelligible how a person who is a descendant of the Yadu race and who knows about priceless treasures and seems to be a liberal donor too can be called a यत्, 'a beast.' Mr. Griffith who rendered the second hemistich of the verse by "For skilled as Yadus son in dealing precious wealth, he who is rich in herds of kine", felt the difficulty. We therefore read in his notes, "paśuḥ which appears to be in apposition with yādvaḥ is hardly intelligible here. Sāyaṇa explains it as paśumān, having beasts or cattle or as a derivative of paś, to see, and meaning one who sees that is subtile, *sūkshmasya draṣṭā*. Neither of these explanations has anything but Sāyaṇa's name to recommend it, but I adopt the former as a make-shift". I need hardly comment on Sāyaṇa's alternative explanations. Grassmann renders यो अस्ति यादवः यत् by 'every man of the Yadu race' but he feels constrained to put a query mark after 'jeder Mann.' This shows that he too cannot tackle the passage. Geldner (Kommentar 121-2) writes "*c īdṛsam dhanam ciketati l eṣa āsaṅgo dātum jānāti*" S. But<sup>78</sup> the subject is more likely paśūḥ in d, that cattle which the Purohita has received from the Yadu king in addition to horse and carriage. Oldenberg in his *Rgveda, text kritische and exegetische Noten* (Vol. II, p. 74) refers to this interpretation of Geldner but makes the pertinent remark "It seems to me that the verb governs in typical manner a noun in the genitive (c. f. on both V. 73.6; VI. 59.5) and has for its subject the praton." Oldenberg himself leans to Ludwig's rendering which is "while I through faith of the desired (Indra's ?) horse yoked it to the car, then he thinks also

78. The 'aber' seems unjustifiable. Sāyaṇa identifies the *yādva* *paśu* with *Āsaṅga* and it is यत् that he takes as the grammatical subject to चिकेतति *ciketati* *he will take* *he will take*



of the beautiful treasure, which is the cattle of the Yādva<sup>79</sup>. Against the rendering of the second half I may say that in the two other (VII. 19.8 and VIII. 6.46) passages where the word यदा has been used we have it in connection with person and not animals and it is doubtful if there is any other certain use of a similar adjective for an animal. I therefore feel inclined to take यदु here as the name of a person. The nearest equivalent that I can think of is यदुः. There is difference in accent, to be sure, in addition to the want of a *repha* but the word 'paśu' meaning cattle is at least known to have been accented in two ways either on the first syllable or on the second. May we not therefore take the यदुः<sup>80</sup> in VIII. 1.31 to be a variant for यदुः which was as I have shown above, a family or a clan name? If this suggestion can be accepted, the connection between the Parśus (=Perses) and the Yādvas suggested by VIII. 6.46 receives a confirmation.

I, therefore consider the Persians of Iran to be the Parśus, a section of the Yādavas of India, who migrated from this land in post-Rgvedic times. Pāṇini's Parśus may have been, as I have already said, Iranian Persians; but they could also be such descendants of the old Yādava Parśus as might still be in India for the Sātvatas, an undoubted Indian tribe, belonged according to the Gaṇapāṭha as we have it to the यदुः class (Pā. V. 3. 117).

79. Ludwig. Der Rgveda, II, 171 "Weil ich vermöge des glaubens des verlangenden [Indra's ?] rosse an den wagen brachte, da denkt er auch an das schöne trefliche, was das vieh des yādava".

80. Can the loss of the *repha* be accounted for by the shifting of the accent to the following syllable?

The Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVIII. 44) makes the Parśus<sup>81</sup> along with the Gāndhāris and the Arāṭṭas, descendants of Urvaśī and Purūravas, settled in the west. These Parśus may well be a section of the Yādavas who in Epic and Puranic times were settled in the west of India. So when Zimmer<sup>82</sup> objects that the Pāraśavas were a people to the south-west of the Madhyadeśa, I cannot believe that the connection of the Iranian Persians with them is made impossible; for we can think that the Parśus (=Perses) were originally Indians (a community of the Yādavas) and migrated to Iran from

81. Caland in his "über des Rituelle sūtra des Baudhāyana" (p. 36) gives the name as *Sparśu* but he puts a query mark after it, In his Bibliotheca Indica edition of the text (p. 397) too he prints the name as *sparśavah*. The Vedic Index (II, 489, article 'Sparśu') but follows Caland's statement in the pamphlets "über das & c.," But this most obviously belongs to the preceding word *Gāndhārayaḥ* and is the *Sandhi* substitute for the *Visarjanīya*; *Parśavaḥ* must therefore be the spelling of the second name. The passage runs as सा (Urvaśī) आयुं च अमावसुं च जनयां चकार । सा होवाचेमौ विभृतेमौ सर्वमायुरेष्यत इति । प्राडायुः प्रवव्राज तस्यैते कुरुपञ्चालाः काशिविदेहा इत्येतदायवं प्रव्राजम् । प्रत्यङ् अमावसुः तस्यैते गान्धारयस्पर्शवोऽराट्वा इत्येतदामावासवम् ॥ The statement of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra does not make the Parśus Yādavas, if we *must* follow the Purāṇic genealogies according to which Yadu was descended from Ayu, whereas according to Baudhāyana the Gāndhāris, the Parśus and the Arāṭṭas are descended from Amāvasu, brother of Ayu. But the testimony of the Purāṇas is by no means unimpeachable. In any case the B.S.S. does make the Parśus (=Persians?) descended from old Indo-Aryan families.

82. Altindisches leben, 137.



India in later times. As regards Manu's<sup>83</sup> derivation of the Pāraśavas from a fusion of Brahmin males with Śūdra females, referred to by Zimmer, is it necessary to pay any serious attention to the fictions about the origins of the mixed (?) castes indulged in by these cāturvarṇya theorists?

When I say that the Perisans may have originally migrated from India, I do not for a moment want to suggest that the whole Aryan population of Iran was derived from that source. The Medians may have come from the same place from which came the Indo-Aryans themselves. There is, so far as I can understand now, no historical<sup>84</sup> difficulty in deriving the Perses alone from India and in almost historical times. The Perses are not mentioned in Babylonian or Assyrian inscriptions till the 8th century B.C.<sup>85</sup> whereas the Medes receive this mention as early as the 28th century B.C.<sup>86</sup> This may be simply due to the Persians and the Medians having

83. यं ब्राह्मणस्तु सूद्रायां कामादुत्पादयेत्सुतम् । स पारयन्नेव शवस्तस्मात् पारशवः स्मृतः । IX, 178.

84. I shall not touch here the linguistic side of the question.

85. See F. Hommel, *Geographic Geschichte des alten Orients* Part I, p. 197, Hall's *Ancient History of the Near East* and Rogozin's *Media*, p. 274. But there is a difference of opinion among scholars as to whether Parsua (near the Zagros) mentioned in the annals of Sargon II was inhabited by the Perses; see Edward Meyer in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edition), XXI, 253. If Meyer is right, the earliest inscriptional mention of the Persians would be in the time of Cyrus (6th century B.C.).

86. E. Forrer, in *Z. D. M. G.*, New Series, Vol. I, p. 247, p. Giles has followed him in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. II (p. 15) recently published.

entered Iran from different places and in different ages. Further discussion of the question in the light of ascertained facts will be out of place here and I must reserve that for later treatment.<sup>87</sup>

After this long (but necessary) digression, let us see what the *Parśu* lady has got to say about herself in X. 86. 23. She says that she has produced twenty children at one birth and that though her burden had caused her pain, it is good that has come out of it. What can this mean? Giving birth to twenty children all at once is humanly impossible, for two is the maximum number a human mother can bring forth at one time. We must therefore search for some mystic meaning here. This we are fully entitled to do for there is plenty of mysticism in the extant Vedic text of this period. I may only mention here R.V. I 164. Now, what has gone before has made it abundantly clear that the writer of the hymn is a champion of the worship of *Vṛṣākapi*. She may therefore be conceived as occupying the same position in this worship as that of *Indrāṇī* in the case of *Indra*'s worship: she may have looked upon herself as the human spouse of *Vṛṣākapi* (the Sun). *Vṛṣan* often means in the *R̥gveda*, as I have pointed out above, 'potent' 'saturating', 'impregnating'.<sup>88</sup> *Vṛṣākapi* is formed from this word. Our potent *Vṛṣākapi* would certainly make his earthly

87. I may, however, mention her that it is possible that when after the demise of *Kṛṣṇa* there was a dispersion of the surviving *Yādavas*, some of the *Yādavas* tribes migrated outside India. The *parśus* may have now found their way to Iran. Compare *Viṣṇupurāṇa* V ch. 38, vv. 5-34, particularly vv. 12-28 where it is described how *Kṛṣṇa*'s seraglio was attacked and carried away by *Abhīras* in the Panjab.

88. Compare II, 35.13 स इं वृषाजनयुत्तासु गर्भम् etc.



spouse fruitful, so much so that 20 children could issue at one birth. We can now guess what animal this god has been conceived as. It is the sow which can give birth to such a large number of children in one conception. If Parśu Mānavī conceives herself as a sow, her Divine Lord would be the Boar. This certainly suits our hymn. The dog or the hunter that Indrāṇī threatened to let loose at Vṛṣākapi in V. 4 above has been called वराह्यु 'hunter of the boar'; therefore its (or his) victim would be a boar. A boar can certainly be called a dread (or voracious) animal (v. 22c). *Kāpi* = 'tawny coloured' constitutes no difficulty, for a tawny-coloured boar is not an impossibility.<sup>89</sup> Gods have been likened to boars in the R̥gveda. In IX 97.7 Soma has been called a Varāha. in X. 67.7 "स ई सत्येभिः सखिभिः शुचिद्विर्गोधायसं वि धनुसैरददः । ब्रह्मणस्पतिर्वृषभिर्वराहैर्घर्मस्वेदेभिर्द्रविणं व्यानत्", the Maruts have been called 'strong (or potent) boars'. The combination of वृषभिः with वराहैः should be particularly noted. In I. 1145 'दिवो वराहमरुषं कपर्दिनम् ॐ c.,' said about Rudra, the character of a *Varāha* and the ruddy colour have been combined in one individual. The name वराह has been given to the Maruts in I. 88.5 and to Vṛtra in I. 121.11. It is possible that the Sun has been meant by वराहम् in X. 28.4. I can therefore feel little hesitation in understanding Vṛṣākapi to be poetically conceived not as ape but as boar. The Vedic Sun god Viṣṇu has been described in the later Purāṇas as having taken the incarnation of a boar. For the Vedic source of this legend, I may simply refer my readers to Macdonell's Vedic Mythology, pp. 41 and 151.

If the Parśu lady looks upon herself as the spouse

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89. I knew of such an animal possessed by our College *Mahtar* at Rangpur.

of the Divine Boar, we have a case of clear *erotic mysticism*. I now draw the attention of my readers to two facts that we have discovered (1) the solar character of the object of this erotic worship and (2) the Yādava nationality of the Paśūpata (and therefore of our poetess who lent herself to this sort of worship). We know that Kṛṣṇa, the Yādava hero, was in later times identified with the old Sun-god Viṣṇu and that an erotic cult grew up around his figure. On the former point we have sufficient light already and Dr. Hemchandra Roy Chaudhuri has brought together in his *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect* (Lecture I) all the available evidence on the point. But now or whence the erotic mysticism came in was as yet obscure. The Vṛṣākapi hymn, as we have now understood it, may throw much light on the problem. We have in this hymn a clear instance of the erotic worship of the Sun. It is with this Sun (Viṣṇu) that Kṛṣṇa was identified and the erotic cult may well have come from the same source from which came Kṛṣṇa's connection with the 'cows' (*go* 'rays of the sun' or waters?) and the other solar phenomena of the human god.

Now one may legitimately object that such far-reaching conclusions should not be drawn from a single passage. But I reply that I have proceeded on parallels and I recount them here. As regards the clash between two cults or the pleading for a particular god, I may refer to R.V.I. 165 and IV. 42, two early hymns, and I. 170, a hymn of about the same age as X. 86<sup>90</sup>. R.V. IV. 42 describes a contest between Varuṇa and Indra as to who is superior. The author prudently decides in favour of both (vv.9 and 10) but there are sufficient indications of a

90. See Arnold's *Vedic Metre* pp. 273, 276 and 287.



personal leaning towards Indra (cf. v. 8)<sup>91</sup> In. I. 165 we have a quarrel between Indra and the Maruts who are his allies in the fight with Vṛtra. The hymn “appears to be, as Wilson observes, a vindication of the separate, or at least preferential worship of Indra, without comprehending at the same time as a matter of course, the adoration of the Maruts”<sup>92</sup>. Indra and the Maruts have contended for the superior position but latter had finally to yield to the former. I. 170, which is ascribed to the same Agastya but is probably by a later hand (a descendant of Agastya ?) shows Agastya pleading to Indra for allowing him to worship (with impunity) Indra’s friendly host, the Maruts. In R.V. X. 124 too we have probably a preference shown to Indra over Varuṇa. In the light of these passages we may safely read in X. 86 an apology for the preferential worship of the Sun-god but to the exclusion this time of the national god Indra. We know that Indra lost his glory in later times and his place was occupied by Viṣṇu and the other Purāṇic gods. R.V.X. 86 shows a transition to this. Indra is still the national god here and that necessitated the diplomatic language of Vṛṣākapi’s apologist. The Sun was worshipped by the Aryans in various forms even in the earliest times but its prominence was a late phenomenon the transition can be easily marked but this would not be a proper place for such an attempt. We have in X. 86 the Sun worship not only given a prominence but possessing an exclusive character too. Of course the conditons of the time required that the new cult should be sanctioned by Indra.

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91. This would remind us of Bloomfield’s plausible view about the position of Varuṇa in the R̥gvedic age.

92. Griffith, *Hymns of the R̥gveda*, 2nd Edn. 1. 228n.

For the erotic mysticism my chief parallel would be VIII. 80 (Max Muller's VIII. 91). As this hymn is very important from my point of view. I shall quote it in full and then discuss the pertinent portions. The hymn runs as :—

कुनया ३ वारवायती सोममपि सुताविदत् ।  
 अस्तु भरत्यन्नवीदिन्द्राय सुनवे त्वा शुक्राय सुनवे त्वा ॥१॥  
 असौ य एषि वीरुको गृहगृहं विचाकंशत् ।  
 इमं जम्भसुतं पिब धानावन्तं करुम्भिणमपुपवन्तमुक्थिनम् ॥२॥  
 आ चुन त्वा चिकित्सा मोऽधि चुन त्व नेमसि ।  
 शनैरिव शनुरैवेन्द्रायेन्द्रो परिसव ॥३॥  
 कुविच्छकत्कुवित्करंत्कुविन्नो वस्यसस्करत् ।  
 कुवित्पत्तिद्विषो यतीरिन्द्रेण सं गमामहे ॥४॥  
 इमानि त्रीणि विष्टा तानीन्द्र विरोहय ।  
 शिरस्तुतस्योर्वारामादिदं मु उपोदरे ॥५॥  
 असौ च या न उर्वरादिमौ तन्वं '१' ममे ।  
 अथो त्तस्य यच्छिरः सर्वा ता रोमशा कृधि ॥६॥  
 रवे रथस्य रवेऽनसुः रवे युगस्य शतक्रतो ।  
 अपालामिन्द्र त्रिषुत्यकृणोः सूर्यं त्वचम् ॥७॥

The following legend has been told by Sāyana in connection of this hymn:—पुरा किल अत्रिसुता अपाला ब्रह्मवादिनी केनचित्कारणेन त्वग्दोषदुष्टा सती अतएव दुर्भगेति भर्त्रा परित्यक्ता पितुराश्रमे त्वग्दोषपरिहाराय चिरकालमिन्द्रमधिकृत्य तपस्तेपे । सा कदाचिद् इन्द्रस्य सोमः प्रियकरो भवति तम् इन्द्राय दास्यामीति बुद्ध्या नदीतीरं प्रत्यागमत् । सा तत्र स्नात्वा पथि सोममप्यलभत तमादाय गृहं प्रत्यागच्छन्ती मार्ग एव तं चरवाद । तद्भक्षणकाले दन्तघर्षणजातं शब्दं श्रावणां सोमाभिषवध्वनिमिति मत्वा तदानीमेवेन्द्रः समागमत् । आगत्य तामुवाच किमत्र श्रावाणोऽभिपुण्वन्तीति । सा प्रत्यूचे अत्रिकन्या स्नानार्थमागत्य सोमं दृष्ट्वा तं भक्षयति तद्भक्षणजो ध्वनिरेव न तु श्रावणां सोमाभिषवध्वनिरिति । तथा प्रत्युक्त इन्द्रः पराडावर्तत । गच्छन्तमिन्द्रं सा पुनरब्रवीत् । किमर्थं निवर्तसे त्वं तु सोमपानाय गृहं गृहं प्रति गच्छसि तदिदानीमत्रापि मम दंष्ट्राभ्यामभिषुतं सोमं पिब धानादींश्च भक्षयेति । सैवमिन्द्रमनाद्रियमाणा सती पुनरप्याह अत्रागतं त्वामिन्द्रमिति न जानामि त्वयि गृहमागते बहुमानं करिष्यामीतीन्द्रमुक्त्वा अत्र समागत इन्द्र एव नान्य इति निश्चित्य स्वास्ये निहितं सोममाह हे सोम त्वमागतायेन्द्राय पूर्वं शनैः ततः



शनकैः क्षिप्रं परिस्नवेति । तत इन्द्रस्तां कामयित्वा तस्या आस्य एव दंष्ट्राभिषुतं सोममपात् तत इन्द्रेण सोमे पीते सति त्वग्दोषादहं भर्त्रा परित्यक्ता सती इदानीमिन्द्रेण संगता इति अपालायामुक्तायामिन्द्रस्तां व्याजहार । किं कामयसे तदहं करिष्यामीत्युक्ते सा वरमचीकमत । मम पितुः शिरो रोमवर्जितं तस्योषरं क्षेत्रं फलादिरहितं मम गुह्यस्थानमप्यरोमशम् एतानि रोमफलादियुक्तानि कुर्वित्युक्तायां तत्पितृशिरः स्थितां खलतिमपहाय क्षेत्रं च फलादियुक्तं कृत्वा एतस्यास्त्वग्दोषपरिहाराय स्वकीयरथच्छिद्रे शकटस्य युगस्य च छिद्रे एतां त्रिवारं निश्चकर्ष । तस्याः पूर्वाभिहतायाः त्वक् शल्यको द्वितीया गोधा तृतीया कृकलासोऽभूत् । तत इन्द्रस्तामप्यपालां सूर्यसदृशत्वचमकरोदित्यैतिहासिकी कथा ॥

Sāyaṇa says that his authority is the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa which he has quoted from in the course of his comments on the different verses. It seems that Sāyaṇa has freely drawn on his imagination in supplementing the statements in that Brāhmaṇa. The Brāhmaṇa story is somewhat shorter. Śaunaka in his Bṛhaddevtā (VI. 99-107 Macdonell's Edition) gives a similar story.

I do not give any translation of the hymn as none is needed. Besides, Sāyaṇa's full note will be found sufficient to remove all difficulties. But his absurdities will require to be pointed out and discussed. Sāyaṇa makes her a married woman but neither the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa nor the Bṛhaddevatā suggests any such thing. We have in the hymn itself explicit statement (in v. 1) that Apālā was a कन्या = a virgin. Sāyaṇa's supposition, as Oldenberg rightly points out<sup>93</sup>, is due to his misunderstanding of the word पत्तिद्विषः in v. 4. Sāyaṇa renders it by पत्या द्विष्टाः but the accent is that of a Tatpuruṣa compound and not of a Bahuvrīhi. Therefore 'haters of husbands' should be its real meaning. Apālā is a virgin and lives in her father's house, because where else would

93. R̥gveda, textkritische und exegetische Noten II, 142.

a maid live ? Hence her solicitations for hair on her eard father's head and for crops in his field (vv. 5 and 6) and for the general prosperity of the family (V. 4 *a* and *b*) One thing stands out quite clear in the hymn and in its different interpretations, *viz.* the erotic relation between Apālā and Indra. Apālā's love relations with Indra are manifest from 4 *d* (इन्द्रेण सुगमामहै) 5 *d* and 6 *b* and have been fully brought out by Sāyaṇa, Saunaka, the author of the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa, Oldenberg and Geldner. The desire expressed in 5 *d* and *b* for "crops of hair below my waist", can only mean the attainment of sexual powers and this can have, in the present context, significance only in an erotic<sup>94</sup> relation with Indra; for otherwise 5 *d* becomes meaningless. There is no reference in the text to any skin disease which Śaunaka and Sāyaṇa<sup>95</sup> have unnecessarily<sup>96</sup> dragged in.

One important point that deserves notice here is the plural in नः वस्यसः पुत्रिद्विवः युतीः and सुगमामहै in v. 4. Sāyaṇa's "सर्वश पूजार्थे बहुवचनम्" is to be set aside without any hesitation. The plural suggests that Apālā does not stand alone in her love relations with Indra but belongs to a class of women who hating the taking of husbands remain virgins and worship Indra as their lover instead. That the love relation with Indra is not earthly but is mystic is made probable by 2 *b* and 3. Apālā wants the Soma she is pressing with her teeth to flow slowly, very slowly, that she may get ample time to know her lord fully.

94, Or more correctly 'erotic-mystic'; see below.

95. The last two sentences in Sāyaṇa's comments on v. 7 probably come from Sāyaṇa and not from the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa.

96. Probably सूर्यत्वचम् in v. 7 Suggested to them that Apālā had skin disease before.



It is then during the pressing and flowing of the Soma in her mouth that she has communion with her divine lover. Something like spiritual ecstasy must be meant by this communion. Persons acquainted with the later<sup>97</sup> mystic literature of India will fully realise the force of my remarks. I may here incidentally draw the attention of my readers to a new German publication "Die Anfänge der Yogaproxis (eine Untersuchung über die Wurzeln der indischen Mystik nach R̥gveda and Atharvaveda)" by Dr. J.W. Hauer, Privatdozent at Tübingen, who had come out to India to study yogic practices. Dr. Hauer<sup>98</sup> has read in this passage an ecstatic relation between Apālā and Indra through the medium of Soma. My difference with him lies only in my emphasising the erotic character of this mysticism.

Saunaka (Bṛhaddevatā VI. 107) considers R.V. VIII. 80 to be an *Aindra* hymn and not an *Itihāsa* hymn as Yāska and Bhāguri hold. It does not contain a mere tale about Indra and his human love, but has Indra for its "deity". We may very reasonably infer from this hymn that Indra was worshipped by some females (who remained unwedded) as their divine lover or husband. It is probably thus that the erotic verse (34) at the end of VIII. 1 is to be explained. Indra has been behymned in vv. 1-29 and the *इन्द्र* in v. 34 *a* may refer to him. That *अश्वंती* is not a proper name but means 'every' is certain. May the two verses at the end of I. 126 be similarly interpreted? One would be naturally reminded of the Purāṇic story of Indra's amour with Ahalyā.

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97. This hymn too is a very late one. See Arnold, *Vedic Metre*, p. 283.

98. pp. 137, 138 of his book.

I may now return to the Vṛṣākapi hymn. The hymn shows as I have indicated above that Sun-worship was supplanting the worship of the old natinal deity Indra, at least in the Parśu=Yādava community. Along with the chief character the other attributes of Indra also may have been usurped by this god and the Yādava ladies may have taken to the worship of the Sun-god as their divine lover. Now, later Vaiṣṇavism (the Vāsudeva cult) rose in this very community. The national hero of the Yādavas, Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra, came to be identified with the old Vedic Sun-god Viṣṇu and worshipped as the Supreme Being. Readers of the Purāṇas will remember that the boy Kṛṣṇa stopped the worship of Śakra (Indra) among the cowherds in whose community he grew up. This may be due to a reminiscence of the Sun-worship (later substituted by the worship of Kṛṣṇa identified with the Sun) ousting the old Vedic Indra-cult in the community of the Yādavas. It appears from the words of Megasthenes that there was some contrast between the worshippers of Herakles and the worshippers of Dionysus in India. I have recently<sup>102</sup> shown that by the cult of Dionysus we are to understand the general Vedic sacrificial cult. As Kṛṣṇa (identified with Viṣṇu) was later installed in the place of Indra, the erotic worship associated with that god may well have come over to him. It is probably thus that we read in some of the Purāṇas stories of Kṛṣṇa's amorous sports with the cowherd girls. This may not be the creation of pure fancy but may be a half-true account of what was perhaps actually in vogue in Kṛṣṇa's community prior to his birth and subsequent to it. Space forbids my dilating further on the point and I must reserve a detailed history of how the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult grew up for a future treatment.



The Vṛṣākapi hymn, when studied with some other hymns of the R̥gveda thus lights up many obscure points in the history of Indian religious ideas and practices. We have also incidentally learnt that the Persians of Iran may have come from the Yādava community of India. The Yādavas, as I have tried to indicate, were probably exclusive worshippers of the Sun. Mithraism that very much spread in Iran in historical times may possible be due to the Parśu=Yādava element in the Iranian population. Whether the erotic mysticism of the later Persian Sufis is due to that original Yādava element or to recent borrowings from western India or to independent development I must leave undetermined for the present.

P.S. :—A friend of mine in Banaras (Pandit Nārāyaṇa Śāstri Khiste Sāhityacārya of the Government Sanskrit College Library) objects that the erotic mysticism brought out above belongs really to *Āgamic* (Tāntric) culture and is not *Nigamic* (Vedic) in character. I do not want to make any pronouncement on the point, this way or or that way, now. Probably what I have said above leaves the question undetermined. I have only said that the cult of Vṛṣākapi as such has no necessary (or even likely) Dravidian origin. We have erotic mysticism associated with the Aryan national god Indra too (and its development can probably be traced from very early times). At any rate, what I have sought to establish is not exactly Vedic character of erotic mysticism but its existence in late R̥gvedic times. Though the hymns discussed above are some of the latest in the R̥gveda, some of their verses (and therefore the hymns themselves ?) are early enough to find place in the Taittirīya collections

and all these hymns have been analysed by Śākalya. The above discoveries raise important issues about the relation between Vedic and Tāntric (or Pañcarātric) cultures which I intend to pursue now. But I must be assured by scholars first that I have set out on a right track.

सत्यमेव जयतात्



(1.2)

## MORE THOUGHTS ON VṚṢĀKAPI HYMN

This is in continuation of the discussion in the foregoing paper on the Vṛṣākapi Hymn (R̥gveda, X, 86 and Atharvaveda, XX, 126) in the Allahabad University Journal (Vol. I, pp. 97-156). The hymn is considered as very obscure, and very various are the interpretations that have been put on it. To me it appeared that there was really no obscurity, all the difficulty being due to the assumption (by European scholars) that *Kapi* meant 'monkey'. Śaunaka in his Bṛhaddevatā seems to understand the word to mean simply *Kapila* 'tawny-coloured', a meaning which is supported by the text (हरितो मृगः in v.3). Indian tradition knows Vṛṣākapi to represent the Sun, and I have found this equation fully supported by verses 19-21 of the hymn. The hymn contains a dialogue between Indra and Indrāṇī over some offence of Vṛṣākapi. Indrāṇī tries to rouse the anger of Indra against him, but fails, and ultimately she has to be reconciled to Vṛṣākapi. Considerable imagination has been used by my predecessors in understanding what the offence was. But it has seemed to me that the text is very plain in making Vṛṣākapi usurp the especial worship of Aryans, which was Indra's wanton offence which would naturally cause the indignation of Indra's wife Indrāṇī. The very opening verse and the following one show this :-

वि नि सोतोरसृक्षत नेन्द्रं देवममं सत ।

यत्तामदद वृषाकपिरयंः पुष्टेषु मत्सखा विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥२॥

परा हीन्द्र धावसि वृषाकपेरति व्यथिः ।

नो अहं प्रविन्दस्यन्वत्र सोमपीतये विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१॥

which may be translated as "(1) Men have given up the pressing of the Soma and they have not been worshipping the god Indra, whereas my 'friend' Vṛṣākapi has been exhilarating himself in the wealth (i.e., offerings) of the pious (or the rich). Indra is superior to all. (2) Thou passest by, Indra, without minding, the transgression of Vṛṣākapi, but thou findest not Soma to drink anywhere else. Indra is superior to all." Indrāṇī uses all the feminine guiles to bring over Indra to her point of view and to alienate his mind against Vṛṣākapi, but Indra continues impervious and says in verse 12, "I have never enjoyed Indrāṇī, without my friend Vṛṣākapi, whose dear watery oblation (Soma ?) goes to the gods. Indra is superior to all." Vṛṣākapi is the Sun and the Ṛgveda has made Viṣṇu, also a solar deity (the same deity ?), इन्द्रस्य युज्यः सखा, "the associate friend of Indra." Consequently Indra could not be made jealous of Vṛṣākapi. Indrāṇī even appeals to Vṛṣākapi, Vṛṣākapi's wife, to allow Indra to partake of Soma and the animal offerings, but Indra magnanimously interposes and says that he is contented with only the bulls (secondary offerings ?). Indrāṇī tries to rouse a longing in Indra's mind for the Soma drink (principal offering ?) but she fails. She then ridicules him for his puritanism but is rebutted. Indrāṇī was soon compelled to give up her unsuccessful efforts and to welcome Vṛṣākapi to their home. "विश्वस्माद् इन्द्र उत्तरः" 'Indra is above all' is the refrain of every verse. It is evident from the hymn that there was prevailing somewhere and at some period an especial worship of the Sun, ousting the worship of the old national god Indra. This must have roused orthodox opposition which



required to be silenced. Our poet does this by diplomatically acknowledging the superiority of Indra in so many words (विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः) and by getting the 'new' cult approved by Indra himself.

The last verse of the hymn is very peculiar. It says that one Parśu Mānavī (the 'woman' or the 'human wife') brought forth at one birth twenty children and though her burden had caused her pain it is good that has now come out of it.' What on earth can this mean? The author, apparently a lady, has been pleading so cleverly for the worship of Vṛṣākapi. Does she look upon herself as his human spouse? If so, there is obvious erotic mysticism here. This alone can explain 'twenty children at one birth' which is a human impossibility. It is possible, as verse 4 indicates, that Vṛṣākapi has been looked upon as a boar. If so, Parśu Mānavī is a 'sow'; and certainly sows bring forth quite a large number of offsprings at one birth. This sounds very strange. But we know that in Purāṇic times Viṣṇu (originally a Sun-god) was said to have incarnated himself as a Boar; and Vedic (Brāhmaṇic) source of this legend has been already found. The erotic mysticism that grew around the figure of Kṛṣṇa, another incarnation of Viṣṇu, is a fact very well-known to people. Searching for Vedic parallels, I find in R.V., VIII, 80 (91) a relation of erotic mysticism between Apālā (and a class of similar virgins) and Indra. It is from this point of view that the erotic verses at the end of VIII. 1 are probably to be explained.

The author of R.V., X, 86 is Parśu Mānavī, Mānavī can hardly be her personal name. Nor can Parśu be so, for a prince has been given this name in VIII, 6.46, and we can never expect a female to be named as a male. Parśu is therefore a clan name. R.V., VIII, 6.46 makes Tiṇdira

Parśu a Yādva=Yādava. The Parśus were therefore in all probability Yādavas. R.V., VIII, 1.31 probably gives a variant form (Paśú) for the name Párśu, the change in accent beings possibly responsible for the syncopation of *r*—it is also thinkable that the form Paśú) is due to a 'metrical shortening', a phenomenon not unknown in the Ṛgveda. There too Yādava connexion is evident. I therefore infer that the Vṛṣākapi Hymn was composed by a Yādava lady. This at once reminds us that it is amongst these Yādavas that Kṛṣṇa lived and, according to legends, had *rāsalīlā* or amorous sports with *gopīs*. The hymns VIII. 80 (91) and X. 86 when studied together prove that Sun-worship supplanted Indra-worship, at least in a particular (Yādava) community, and assimilated, among other things, its erotic mysticism. Both these hymns, which are certainly earlier than the time of Kṛṣṇa, show that the legends of Kṛṣṇa's dalliances with the cowherd girls are due to an actual prevalence in historical times of erotic worship of the Godhead (Indra at one time and the Sun at a later stage or in a different section of the community) by a class of females who remained unmarried. Why Kṛṣṇa was identified with Viṣṇu now becomes clear, for Viṣṇu, the Sun, became the national god of Yādavas; the national hero easily passes into or is identified with the national god. The hymn X. 86 probably illumines also the origin of Bhāgavatism : Bhagavat may have originally been 'the Radiant One', 'the Sun.'

The connexion between Parśu and Persia is most obvious. In the Babylonian inscriptions the Perses have been called Parśus. Mithraism, an especial worship of the Sun, certainly flourished in Persia. Btt as the Parśus are a section of the Yādavas of hoary Indian antiquity,



the Persians seem to have migrated from India. Rai Bahadur R. Chanda certainly derived the Yādavas from Iran but his arguments do not stand criticism. The Yādavas are mentioned in even the earliest portions of the R̥gveda but the Perses are not mentioned in any western inscriptions before the 9th century B.C., whereas the Medes receive this mention as early as the 28th century B.C.. The Perses may therefore have migrated from India in probably historical times, after the Bhārata battle.

It will be thus seen that my paper raises two important issues, one about the culutral history of India and another about the racial history of Iran. The second point has been only incidentally touched upon, and no justice could be done to it. I therefore intend writing in detail on this subject at an early date. But what I have written on the former subject in the paper mentioned above and in this note will afford to scholars some materials for reflection. Will they kindly pay any serious attention to them and consider if I do or do not solve some old problems? I invite criticism from the knowing public and if they can disillusion me I shall be much obliged and I shall acknowledge my error openly.

P.S.—The erotic mysticism in R.V. VIII, 1, VIII 80 (91) and X. 86 is probably to be connected with the (revolting) ceremony the *mahiṣī* has to perform with the stifled horse (a symbol for the Sun) in the Aśvamedha. One would also think here of the symbolic 'obscenities' of many primitive peoples to help the fertilising of the earth, for which we have a Vedic parallel in the Mahā-varata rite,. Turning to Iran, I may note that some scholars have supposed that *Yasna* 32.10 points to nocturnal orgies among some worshippers of Mithra; but I

have myself not been able to understand the passage in that light. But the fact that Herodotus (I. 131) confounds Mithra with Mylitta, the Assyrian goddess of child-bearing may indicate some erotic element in the Mithra-cult of his day. One should note that the "Father of History" makes Mithra a foreign importation in Persia. The Semitic derivation has been rejected by scholars as absurd. It is commonly believed by Avestan scholars that Mithra was introduced ('re-introduced') into the Zoroastrian pantheon after Zarathushtra. We may now think that the cult went from India or received an impetus from that source. In conclusion I may remind scholars of *Yasna* 42. 4-6 and the interpretation Tiele has put on it, though I am not sure that he is right in making *Soma* 'Indian' and not 'Aryan' (or, according to his own language, 'East-Aryan'). Lastly, does not the *Bacchanala* of Euripides support the westward migration of a female cult of erotic mysticism resembling what we find in R.V. VIII. 80 (91) ?

#### Note

This was published as a supplementary note in the Vṛṣākapi hymn in the form of a letter addressed to the Editor, Calcutta Review.

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## INDRA IN THE R̥GVEDA AND THE AVESTA

Various views have been held by scholars about the original nature of the Vedic god Indra. Though opinions have by now converged to one point, all the facts connected with Indra are not adequately explained. The problem seems to be further complicated by the fact that his Avestic counterparts, Verethraghna and Indra, are respectively a Spirit of Light and a Demon. Martin Haug's theory about the religious schism between the Indians and the Iranians, now abandoned by European scholars but still popular in India, does not give us much help.

That Indra is a god of thunder and rain is certainly quite evident. But this function may be quite adventitious. Trita Āptya, an early god whom Indra seems to have ousted, had just the same function. We have to keep in mind Indra's connexion with war. But "god of war" will not be an adequate explanation either. Indra helps fighters, but chiefly Aryan fighters and that against their non-Aryan enemies. This fact ought to be kept in mind. Could he have been simply the national god of the Aryans or of some Aryan tribes? Perhaps. Vṛtra in most passages of the R̥gveda means certainly the cloud-demon. But in some passages in the family books (e.g., III, 53. 11), it means simply "enemy", and that is the sence of the first element in Verethraghna. This meaning may therefore go back to Aryan times, the derivation

being from *vr* "to cover, to envelop, to *surround*." Transference of the name in later times to 'aerial' enemies of mankind is readily understood. Verethraghna of the Avesta would therefore be a very close correspondent of Indra of the pre-R̥gvedic and early R̥gvedic Indo-Aryans.

How then did the Indian Indra come to have an especial connexion with the phenomenon of raining? The process is not difficult of understanding. Everything good, everything beneficial to the community, would be ascribed to the kindness of the national god. Parallels may be adduced from almost every country. Without rains man cannot subsist, and the Aryans formed no exception to this rule. Therefore Indra had to be made responsible for the enlivening drops of water the heavens yield annually after a long drought. Indra would therefore be first a national god, then as a corollary of this fact, a god of war and a god of rain.

We can probably guess at another aspect of Indra. His especial connection with the Soma draught is well-known. The drink chiefly belongs to him. This we find in the R̥gveda, and in the later Soma ritual the prominence of Indra is not substantially altered. Now an early name for Soma is *Indu* and it is probably from *Indu* that the name *Indra* is derived. This *Indu* or Soma is endowed in the R̥gveda with a characteristic feat of Indra, the conquest of *Vṛtra* (as a cloud-demon). That is probably because *Indu*=intoxication of the Soma (juice) was in some way identical with Indra. We "may have here partially a case of Frazer's sacrificing the god unto himself. "The Aryans seemed to have traced their ancestry to *Indu* or Soma, as is evidenced by the Purāṇic genealogy of the Candra (?) dynasty and a statement in Megasthenes (*vide* my paper on this subject in the



Third Oriental Conference). A certain amount of totemism might be involved here. Such ideas would of course be repugnant to many but such may really be the indication of facts. The Soma ritual, however, seems to have been at first peculiar to the Indian branch of the Aryans and to have entered Iran in a post-Zarathustrian period. Therefore the identification of Indra with Indu or Soma would not go to the times when the ancestors of the Indians and the Iranians were living together as one people.

Verethraghna in the Avesta is therefore an Aryan survival. But not so Indra. He is found only in the Vendidad, the latest of the Avestan texts, and probably only once. Indra is mentioned as a demon to be driven away, along with Sauru and Nāunghaithya (Vd. X, 9). It is possible that these three names are of deities of the neighbouring Indians. That is probably because the Iranians of Parthian or Sassanian times looked upon the Indians as upon all other neighbouring tribes with eyes of contempt, and the writer of the passage fancifully chose some of their gods as demons. Milton's *Paradise Lost* would naturally come to one's mind in this connexion. It should be kept in mind that hostility to Indra or to things Indian is not found in the earlier texts of the Avesta, and Haug's theory of original schism should not therefore be dragged in to explain Indra's demonhood. We should also keep in mind that Indra's character degraded in India too by Purāṇic times; and the Nāsatyas were then not much worshipped and their names could therefore be misunderstood in Iran. Whom Sauru corresponded to, Śarva or Śaru(=Arrow or Dart of Death ?) is not very clear.

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(1.4)

## THE CRADLE OF THE INDRA-VṚTRA MYTH

आराध सप्तसिन्धूनां	सरणो कारणं हरिम् ।
यद्देशे रूपकन्त्वेतत्	प्रागुत्पन्नं विचारये ॥
देशोऽसौ बल्कशप्रान्त	एशियाभुवि मध्यतः ।
“सेमिरेशिन्सुग्” इति ख्यातः	स “सुप्तसिन्धुर” अर्थतः ॥

I have elsewhere said that the character of the R̥gvedic Indra is very complex (*Proceedings, IV All India Oriental Conf. pp. 11 ff.*). I have there tried to show that the most original trait of Indra that we can think of on the basis of the available evidence is that of a national God. Several problems about Indra have yet remained unsolved. I have not there called into question the correctness of Indra's connexion with the phenomenon of raining as given by tradition and generally accepted by scholars. But some Western scholars still hold that Indra had no connexion with rains in the R̥gvedic period. I believe that there is ample evidence in the *R̥gveda Samhitā* for this connexion. Without entering into a discussion of this question, which I reserve for a later occasion, I wish to discuss here a certain problem in the Indra-Vṛtra myth, which presupposes Indra's having something to do with rains even in the R̥gvedic period.

The myth of Indra's annual fight with the demon who keeps away rain waters, variously named as Śambara, Ahi, Śuṣṇa, etc., or more usually Vṛtra, is briefly this. The 'Enemy' (as the word *vṛtra* means, *vide* pp. 14-16)



steals away the cows (=waters) and keeps them concealed in the cave Vala (=vara, an enclosure, from  $\sqrt{vr}$ . 'to surround'). Indra attacks him with the Maruts (the storm gods) and other helpers, chases him from rock to rock (i.e. cloud to cloud), finds him at last, and kills him. The covering stone of Vala is also shattered and the waters are released and with eagerness they go the way of the Ocean.

Now, very often our poets describe Indra's victory as 'letting the rivers, or more specifically the Seven Rivers, to flow'.<sup>1</sup> What does the letting loose of the Seven Rivers mean? Does it merely refer to the falling of the rain waters from the sky in the usual metaphorical style of the *Rgveda Samhita*? But that seems impossible in view of the fact that rain waters have been metaphorically described in the *Rgveda Samhita* as cows. The specification of the number of rivers also creates difficulty. It seems, therefore, more likely that actual rivers were meant. Two problems arise in this connexion.

When rivers are described as let loose by Indra to flow, the inference is natural that they were not flowing before his intervention. As this fight of Indra with Vṛtra is an annual affair, the rivers should have ceased to flow before the annual rains. But could such a condition have been even prevailed in the Punjab and its adjoining lands, where the Rgvedic hymns must have come into existence? The geographical allusions scattered throughout the *Rgveda Samhita* leave no doubt in our mind as to

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1. Rv. I. 32. 12, 61. 10; II. 11. 2, 12. 3, 12. 15. 3; IV. 17. 1, 18. 7, 19. 3, 5, 6. 8, 28. 1, 42. 7; VII. 18. 24, 67. 8 (?); VIII. 32. 25, 85. 1, 18, 89. 12; X. 49. 9, 67. 12, 89. 7; III. 9, 133. 2.

where the whole of that literature, or at least the main body of it, must have been composed. But water never fails in the rivers of the Punjab during summer and this has been the climatic condition of the province all throughout the present geological epoch. The reason is not far to seek : these rivers are all fed by glacier streams, which run throughout the summer on account of the increased melting of the snow. Consequently it could never have been true of the rivers of the Punjab in the present epoch that they were not flowing before Indra annually killed Vṛtra and released the pent up waters. These rivers, therefore, could not have given rise to the myth of Indra letting loose the rivers to flow again (अवासृजत् सर्वे सप्तसिन्धु, etc.). We thus have a problem as to rivers of which lead are responsible for this seemingly traditional expression.

The next problem is what are the *seven* rivers. Various explanations have been given as to what specific rivers stand for the number *seven*. Durgācārya's statement that they are the seven atmospheric streams, Bahulā, Aśvā, Titutrā, Abhrapatnī, Varṣayantī, and Arundhā (or Purastādarundhā) ?<sup>2</sup> need not be seriously taken. The rivers must be earthly rivers. Otherwise the land of the Indo-Aryans could hardly have been called in the *R̥gveda Samhitā* (VIII, 24, 27) *Saptā Sindhuṣu* and in the *Avesta* (Vend I, 19) *hapta hindu*. Sāyana's *Gaṅgādyāḥ sapta nadyaḥ* does not deserve any better consideration, for the group, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Godāvarī, Sarasvatī, Narmadā, Sindhu and Kāverī, belong to a time long posterior to the *R̥gveda Samhitā*, when Aryan civilization had spread all over

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2. Commentary on the *Nirukta*, Venkateswar Press Edition, p. 428.



India. That *saptā* can mean *śarṇaśīlāḥ*, as Sāyaṇa also suggests, cannot be believed for a moment. The European efforts at fixing the rivers have not succeeded either.<sup>3</sup> One cannot see why they should be the Indus, the five well-known tributaries of the Indus that have given the Panjab its name and the Sarasvati or the Oxus. This fixation seems extremely arbitrary. The poets of the Ṛgvedic hymns know of many more streams, like the Gomatī, the Yamunā and the Sarayū, mentioned several times, which should hardly have been omitted from the enumeration. Zimmer's view, which the authors of the *Vedic Index* accept, that there is no particular significance in the number is no better. If the number five in *Pāṇca Jānāḥ* is significant, one wonders why it should not be so in *Saptā Sindhavaḥ*. So instead of cutting the Gordian knot in the way Zimmer has done, we should hold 'seven' to be a traditional number, coming from a place where the Aryans lived earlier and where there were seven and only seven rivers. The number would cling to popular memory long after the original home was forgotten and remain fixed in popular or at least hieratic expression. In several districts of Bengal the adjacent river is called Gāṅg (=Gaṅgā), though it is not the Ganges.

H. Brunnhofer in his *Urgeschichte der Arier in Vorder- und Central-Asien*, Vol. II, p. 22 ff., suggests the name of such a possible earlier home of the Indo-Aryans. It is Semirechinsk in Russian Turkestan, watered by the Ili, Lepsa, Karatal, Baskan, Aksu, Sarkan, and Biyen, seven rivers which flow into the Lake Balkash. Brunnhofer has gained a certain notoriety for wild speculations.

3. See *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 424.

Consequently this extremely good suggestion of his did not catch the attention of sober scholars. Dr. N. G. Sardesai of Poona made the self-same suggestion, quite independently of Brunnhofer, in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 93-96, and his writing must have attracted the notice of at least Indian scholars. Semirechinsk, the name of the province, means 'the Land of the Seven Rivers'.

Strangely enough, of the seven rivers of this land, some do dry up before the rains. 'The Lepsa, Ili, and Kartal alone reach Balkash throughout the year, all the others either losing themselves in the sands or discharging their waters into the lake only during the floods.'<sup>4</sup> 'The climate' of the place 'is thoroughly continental. In the Balkash steppes the winter is very cold; the lake freezes every year and the thermometer falls to 13° F. In the Alakul steppes the winds blow away the snow. The passage from winter to spring is very abrupt and the prairies are rapidly clothed with vegetation, which, however, is soon scorched up by the sun.'<sup>5</sup> In addition to the general dry character of Central Asia, it is well known to students of geography, how desiccation has gone on in this part for centuries and millenniums.<sup>6</sup> Consequently drying up of rivers before the rains in such a region as Semirechinsk can very easily be understood. It is quite likely that a period of unusual drought, say

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4. Keane, *Asia*, (1896), Vol. I, p. 130.

5. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Ed., Vol. 24, p. 617. See there the articles on Semirechinsk, Semipalatinsk and Balkash.

6. See E. Huntington's *Pulse of Asia* and the three volumes of the two Pampelly Expeditions.



the one between 3000 and 2200 B.C.,<sup>7</sup> led the Aryans or some of them to leave the land and march towards India and may be also towards Iran. The Balkash region may easily have been a starting point for the southward and westward marches of the Aryans.

This Semirechinsk could well be the land where the idea of Indra letting loose the pent up (seven) rivers arose. The occasional drought of the land would also explain the conception of the demon *Suṣṇā* (Drought) in the Indra myth and the rigours of the cold season the expression *hima*=winter for the year or the myth of Indra piercing Arbuda with snow (Rv. S. VIII, 32, 26).

We do not yet know if any other place can give an equally satisfactory or a better explanation for these traits in the Indra-Vṛtra myth. For want of any other satisfactory explanation we may tentatively place the Cradle of the Indra-Vṛtra myth in Semirechinsk, the Land of Seven Rivers, in Russian Turkestan. Here the Aryans could have lived long and developed their peculiar characteristics, after separating from the other Indo-European peoples. If the original home of the Indo-European was in Siberia, as De Morgan<sup>8</sup> would have us believe, Semirechinsk would be on the way to India and Iran.

Strangely enough, this province also satisfies the various data philologists have posited for the Indo-European Urheimat. But I do not yet dare to rush to

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7. See Brooke, *Climate through the Ages*, p. 358.

8. *La Préhistoire Orientale*, Vol. III; see also Jarl Charpentier in *B.S.O.S.* IV, 170.

the conclusion that Paradise is to be 'regained' here. Peter Giles' words of caution in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th Edition, Vol. 14, pp. 498-500) should be borne in mind though he himself forgot them later. Let that Urheimat yet remain undetermined.



## HISTORY OF VEDIC RELIGION

### I

वाग्देवीं मनसाध्यात्वा वेदरूपेण संस्थिताम् ।  
वेदधर्मेतिहासस्य प्रक्रमं करवाण्यहम् ॥

Richness and variety have characterised the ancient literature of India; But history has been its one weak point. There are a few scattered references to historical events in the Vedas and the Great Epics and a number of chronicles in the Purāṇas. But these are not sufficient for a consecutive history of events and the development of culture. Change is the law of nature. Though religion shows the greatest amount of conservatism, change has overtaken it as much as any other activity of man. Manu speaks of different religions practices in the different cycles:

अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्मास्त्रेतायां द्वापरेऽपरे ।  
अन्ये कलियुगे नृणां युगहासानुरूपतः ॥  
तपः परं कृतयुगे त्रेतायां ज्ञानमुच्यते ।  
द्वापरे यज्ञमेवाहुर्दानमेकं कलौ युगे ॥ (२।८५-६)

Our *Sanātana* Dharma is in one sense eternal. There are two kinds of *nitya* or 'eternal' substances, (1) *Kūṭastha-nitya* or unchanging eternal and (2) *Pravāhi-Nitya* or changing eternal. *Sanātana* Dharma is eternal in the latter sense. It is, therefore, natural that the Vedic religion which is the earliest phase of *Sanātana* Dharma, should itself have undergone considerable changes during the many centuries that we have to posit for the Vedic period of Indian history.

A historical approach enables us to understand clearly the different elements of any culture. Vedic studies are no exception to this rule. The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas have also said

इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपवृंहयेत् ।

विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥

I am, therefore, attempting a historical analysis of Vedic religion.

For the modern student *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* do not stand for the texts known by these names in Sanskrit literature but the whole range of human history in and outside India. A century of patient collection of materials in the field of anthropology has shown that the human mind works more or less similarly under similar circumstances. Comparative studies teach us that God has not chosen any particular race as his special favourite. Wherever any particular race has made advances on a particular line, that has been due to certain favourable circumstances in the environment of that race which would have helped other races similarly if those circumstances were present with them. A student of history cannot be wedded to either a diffusionist or an evolutionary outlook in the appraisal of human culture. He has to decide on the evidence available whether a particular institution has evolved independently or has been borrowed from another people.

To the historian, Vedic culture is not a homogeneous entity : it contains materials of different ages and of

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1. Vāyu Purāṇa, I.200. 1, Padma Purāṇa V-2-51-52, Mahābhārata, Bhandarkar edition I, 1.204 (the reading प्रतरिष्यति in that edition makes no sense and seems also to be unjustified by the manuscript evidence).



different inspirations. It is too late in the day to doubt that the Aryans have come from outside India. There must have been an extra-Indian basis of Vedic culture. There was the Indo-European period and still later the Indo-Iranian period before the Indo-Aryan period begins. The Aryans coming to India did not come to a soil that was uninhabited by uncivilized people. Our recent discoveries have taught us that pre-Aryan India was a very civilized country, both materially and spiritually. It was inevitable that when the Aryans settled down in India, they were influenced by the pre-Aryans. There must have been other influences that have helped in the development of the Indo-Aryan Vedic culture but we have only a few stray indications about this.

Turning to the Indo-European period, our evidence is mainly linguistic. Comparative mythologists of the earlier generations thought that the Indo-Europeans worshipped only forces of nature, the Sky, the Sun, the Dawn, Fire, the Waters, the Wind, the Thunder etc. The common terms lend a good deal of colour to the theory that these forces were worshipped as gods by the undivided people. It must however be admitted that the linguistic evidence is not complete. The equations, *Sūrya-Helios-Sol*, *Agni-Agnus*, *Vāta-Wotan* etc. show that the objects connoted by these terms bore common names in the undivided times. The linguistic evidence shows that these *objects* were *worshipped*. It is at best a possibility or even a probability, the evidence being *literary*, as opposed to linguistic. The sole exception is *Dyaus-Pitr* = Zeus Pater = Juppiter (Tyr) in which case the common term expressing personal relationship (father) proves conclusively that the Sky was personified and worshipped by the Indo-Europeans as a father God. It is also very likely that the

Earth was also personified as a Mother Goddess. The primitive Mundas of India are known to have been worshipping the Sun as Father and the Earth as mother.

It is generally believed by students of Vedic mythology that another equation Várūṇa-Ouranós for the sky-god is authenticated for the Indo-European period. Even philologists of repute have accepted the equation. But where is the evidence? It is admitted by persons who accept the equation that there is nothing in Vedic literature to indicate that Varuṇa had anything to do with the Sky and there is hardly any evidence in Greek literature for us of the word Ouranós=Sky for a god. Linguistically there are two serious difficulties against this equation, (1) the difference in the second vowel in these words and (2) the difference in accentuation. The Sanskrit word has vowel *u* in the second syllable and it is accented on the first syllable and the Greek word has *a* in the second syllable and it is accented on the last syllable. We could have brushed aside either of these difficulties, if the literary evidence in support was compelling. But it is far from so. Why then hug to our breasts an equation which is of such a doubtful nature? The so-called analogues of Varuṇa in Iranian literature Varana and Ahura Mazda are no analogues at all. The Indo-European Sky-God appears thus to have been known by only one name which corresponds to Dyaus-Zeus &c.

Besides a number of gods personifying forces of nature, the Indo-Europeans appear to have worshipped gods presiding over specific departments of human activity. H. Usener has made out a very strong case for *Sonder-Götter* or departmental Gods in his book *Die Gotternamen*. Though the evidence is literary and not linguistic, it is



on a par with the evidence about nature gods other than Dyaus. The phenomenon of abstract gods in the Vedas like Manyu or Brahmanaspati or of the Amasha-Spantas in the Avestā like Kshathra Vairya Asha or Aramaiti is thus no new creation of the Indo-Aryan or the Irano-Aryan period, respectively.

We have no evidence of notions of monotheism in the Indo-European period as contended for even primitive peoples by Andrew Lang and Pater Schmidt.

Literary evidence seems to indicate that the Indo-Europeans considered trees or the woods to be the especial abode of gods. We have in the Rv. S.

यस्मिन् वृक्षे सुपलाशे देवैः संपिबते यमः ।

अत्रा नोविश्वपतिः पिता पुराणं अनुवेनति ॥

Tacitus's *Germanis* clearly mentions the presence of this idea among the ancient Germans. The name *Druid* = *dru-vid* ('the knower of the tree') for the priests of the ancient Kelts points in the same direction.

वटे वटे वैश्रवणश्चत्वरं चत्वरं शिवः ।

कानने कानने रामः सर्वत्र मधुसूदनः ॥

repeats the same idea. Words like Angiras-Greek *Angelos* *Bṛhaspati*—O. Icelandic *Bragi*—Old Irish *Brigit* et c. perhaps indicate that in the I.E. period, there was also the institution of priesthood, an inference made probable by the presence of priests or medicine men or shamans among primitive peoples.

Coming to the Indo-Iranian period, we find a large number of common deities with common or similar mythological traits like Sūrya-Hvard, Mitra-Mithra, Vṛtrahan-Verethraghna, Apāt-Ābān, Apāin Napāt-Apām Napāt, Vāyuu-Vāyu, Yame-Yima, Vivasvat-Vivañuhāt,

Soma-Haoma, (Candra ) mās-Mānha. Our sources of information for this period are the Vedas, the Avesta, the Ancient Persian Inscriptions, the Śaka and other central Asian documents and, strangely enough, Herodotus's History. Herodotus's account of the religion of the Persians and the Śakas agrees very well with that we can gather about the earliest phase of Vedic religion as gleaned from the earliest texts of the *R̥gveda-saṁhitā*. Very simple sacrifices were performed to the gods without the lighting of fires or pouring of libations. Herodotus speaks about only one priest in the Persian worship. Though there was arthropomorphic conception of the gods, no images were made or worshipped. Aniconism has characterised Vedic ritual and worship up to the days of the latest *paddhatis*. As regards lighting up of fires, this was not an original practice in the Vedic sacrifice. Gods have been again invoked to come and sit on the Kuśa grass (barhis) and there partake of the Soma. Offering of the *havis* in Agni for other deities appears to be a late practice. Offering of the *havis* in fire in a main sacrifice (*pradhāna yāga*) is considered by Mīmāṃsakas to be merely a *pratipattikarman* (defined as 'उपयुक्तस्य आकीर्णकरस्य विहितदेशे प्रक्षेपः') like the consignment in *Gaṅgājala* or *go-mukha* of the *piṇḍa* in a *śrāddha*. The Yāga is accomplished the moment *vaṣaṭkāra* is pronounced by the Hotṛ and the yajamāna utters the *tyāga mantra*. Another important information vouchsafed by Herodotus is that of three things every Persian boy had to learn was how to speak the truth. Truth is a cardinal virtue in Aryan conception.

Practice among the ancient Greeks and Romans and the pre-Christian Slavs, however, indicated that fire was maintained and worshipped. The Hearth fire or the



House fire was the Protector of the household, including the animals. The Slavic Hearth Fire *Domovoy* (House-Friend, cf वधमानं स्व आदमे in Rvs. I. 1.) looked after the horses. This explains how Rudra who was originally a fire-God, became *Paśu-pati*, the Lord of the Cattle.

Before we pass on to the Indo-Aryan period, we have to take into cognisance a few facts of history. Though I have said at the start that it is too late in the day to doubt the theory that the Aryans came to India from outside, it must be confessed that for all the attempts of scholars belonging to different disciplines to fix the home of undivided Indo-Europeans, that home has not yet been determined. We do not know where it was, the confident claims of different scholars notwithstanding. It is a big X. From that point, however, there seems to have taken place at a remote antiquity the dispersal of the ancestors of the *centum*-speaking peoples and the *satem*-speaking peoples, the former probably moving towards Europe and the latter towards the great grassland stretching from Europe to Asia or perhaps to Asia only. After this original dispersal, several movements from the east to the west and from the west to the east seem to have taken place, including the coming to Kucha of a *centum*-speaking Western tribe represented in the wall paintings in Chinese Turkestan with blue eyes. The linguistic and other agreements between the Balto-Slavs and the Indo-Iranians point towards the former being offshoots of Aryans, using the word in the narrower sense (Indo-Iranio-Armenians). Mesopotamian inscriptions show that at least one Aryan tribe, the Medes, reached Western Asia as early as the twenty-eighth century before Christ. There is no difficulty, therefore, in assuming that the Aryans first came to India at least about that time. Of the

several Aryan tribes whose existence in Western Asia is evidenced by Assyrian and Egyptian inscriptions, the Mitanis, the Kassites and Persians, the last two show the use of tribal or personal names *Kāśi* or *Kuru*, which are found in exactly the same form among Indo-Aryans and must, therefore, be more nearly connected with the Indo-Aryans. I have already referred to Herodotus's account of the religion of the Persians and pointed out its close connexion with early Vedic religion. In a paper that I had communicated to the Brussels section of the International Congress of Orientalists in 1938, I pointed out the close connexion between the Kassite Earth Goddess *Shimālia*, the Lady of the Mountain with the Indian *Umā*, connected with the *Himālayas*, *Kātyāyanī* connected with the *Vindhya*s, *Kāmākhyā* connected with *Nīlāchala* and *Chāmuṇḍeśvarī* connected with the *Chamunda Hill*. Another important Aryan tribe settled in Asia Minor was that called by the Greeks *Phrugioi* exactly corresponding to our *Bhṛgu*s, who appear to have introduced in India an especial Fire Cult.

Some words have got to be said here about the mention of the four gods *Mitra*, *Varuṇa*, *Indra* and *Nāsatya* in a treaty between the Hittite King *Ghubbilu-liuna* and the Mitannian King *Mativāja*, of  $\pm 1350$  B.C., found in the archives of *Boghaz-Köi* in Asia Minor. *Hermann Jacobi's* views about the antiquities of the *Vedas* on astronomical grounds did not generally find favour with European scholars. When, therefore, *Hirgo Winkler* announced those 4 names in the *Mitanni-Hittite Treaty* in 1906, *Jacobi* acclaimed them as evidence of the existence of the *Vedas* from before 1350 B.C. This was not acceptable to those European who were wedded to the theory that the *Vedas* start from about 1000 B.C. They,



therefore, described these gods as Aryan, Proto-Iranian etc and not as Indian or Vedic, as they should have been. This is what we can describe as *Kuśa-Kāśāvalambana* (a drowning man catching at a straw). Sten Konow, however, recognised those gods as Indian deities in 1917. I gave grammatical proof of these deities being Vedic gods in my Presidential Address before the Veda section of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum in 1937. These four names are among a large number of gods and goddesses invoked by the two kings to stand as witnesses of their covenant. We have among those gods and goddesses all names familiar to us from the cuneiform records. These four names stand out as singular. The use of the plural determination *Itāni* before Mitra, Varuṇa and Nāsatya, clearly corresponds to (1) The *devatādvandva* between Mitra and Varuṇa and the frequent use of either word in the dual number like the *devatādvandva* itself in the Vedic texts and to (2) the description of the Nāsatyas in Nasatya, Aśvin and other names for these twin gods. The Babylonian tablet on the training of horses using, according to E. Forrer, *Indian* numerals, makes it very likely that Indo-Aryan dealers in horses following the Vedic religion used to go at least as far west as Mesopotamia in the course of their trade. The four Vedic gods are thus gods known through Indo-Aryan traders or colonists in Asia Minor. Herodotus drew his knowledge of the Persian religion and customs from Persian colonists in Asia Minor. We have similar evidence of Indian traders and their activities at the Caspian oil centre at Baku in the nineteenth century A.D.

It is probably in the course of such trading activities that contacts were established in antiquity between Western Asian culture and Indo-Aryan Vedic culture about

which I shall speak later. A.H. Sayce and others have unnecessarily explained the names Mitra, Varuṇa Indra and Nāsatya as names of gods of Aryans on their way to India.

I now come to the advent of the Aryans in India. I have already mentioned that when the Aryans first came to India they found the land inhabited by civilized people. What formerly used to be called the Indus Valley civilization and later called Harappan culture now appears to have been fairly well-spread throughout India. Its vestiges have been found as far south as Gujarat. This was perhaps the civilization of the ancestors of the Dravidians. Though the Dravidians of the South have been recently connected directly with the Mediterranean world, their occupation of Northern India in ancient times and gradual movement to the South under the pressure of the Aryans seems to be supported by the facts known to us. In any case of the different races occupying the Panjab and Sindh when the Aryans came there, at least one appears to have been highly cultured, both materially and spiritually. When the Aryans first came to India there was probably no commingling of two cultures, the culture of the conquerors and that of the conquered. I have said elsewhere, that the Aryan conquest appears to have been a case of *Veni, Vidi, Vici*, on the side of the Aryans and *Jaṅghābalaṃ* or *adarśanam lopaḥ* on the side of the non-Aryans. Real contact probably started when the Aryans crossed the Beas and the Satlaj and settled in Kurukṣetra or still later when they reached Magadha.

Attempts have been made to represent the Indus basin civilization as the culture of the Aryans or of pre-Rgvedic Aryans. I have replied to some of these arguments in my Presidential Address in the Veda section



of the Trivandrum Oriental Conference and also in the discussion that took place after the delivery of the Address. The Indus civilisations is essentially iconic, whereas the Vedic Aryans had nothing to do with *icons*. Another decisive factor is that the horse played an important part in the Indo-European domestic and social economy and had a definite place in at least the Aryan religions life. But the horse is practically unknown in the Indus basin. The remains at Mohenjodaro shows that the people there know and practised *Yoga* and were acquainted with some of its *āsanas* and *mudrās*. We shall see later the bearing of these facts on the history of Vedic religion.

I have not so far defined religion. I must do it before I describe Vedic religion. *Religion* has been differently defined by different scholars. In some definitions it appears to be dogma which cannot be correct. If religion were only a dogma, a set of views, the religious man would have been only a scholar or at best a philosopher. The practically unlettered sage of Dakṣineśvara would not they have been a living embodiment of religion. If *pratīti*, (understanding) and *vyavahāra* (usage) are determining factors in our comprehension of world, as in the Nyāya system of thought, religion also must be understood as a particular *way of life* based on a particular view about phenomena connected therewith. If we call a man leading a particular kind of life 'religious', religion must be defined in terms of that life. In offering our definition, we should avoid as in our Nyāya system, the faults of *ativyāpti* (ultra-pervasiveness) and *avyāpti* (non-pervasiveness). It must not suit only our own religions. It must cover all religions. Acceptance of one God, worship of many gods and even want of faith in any

god at all have been found in different religions. But everywhere there has been the acceptance of something higher, something nobler be it a being or a number of beings or a state. Keeping these points in mind., I define Religion as '*Belief in Higher Existence with striving for its Realisation.*' An apparent objection will be from the popular conception of Buddhism which is undoubtedly a religion. But that objection based on an incorrect understanding of Buddhist scriptures and of Buddhist religions practices show that the goal *Nirvāṇa* is not *extinction*. If *Nirvāṇa* is blowing out, it is the blowing out of the lamp of desires and no effacing of the self. The *śūnya-vāda* of the Mādhyamikas is not a faith of non-existence : चतुष्कोटिविनिर्मुक्तं तत्त्वं माध्यमिका जगुः is their clear assertion. The Pali canon of the Sthaviravādins also has gone into raptures over the joy of *Nibbāṇa*. The goal of the Buddhist votary also is thus a realisation of a Higher Existence. In the unfolding of the history of Vedic religion in my two subsequent lectures this definition will be borne in mind.





## HISTORY OF VEDIC RELIGION

### II

प्रजापति नमस्कृत्य सर्वदेवाधिदैवतम् ।

वेदधर्मप्रसङ्गेन भाषणं पुनरारभे ॥

After settling a number of preliminaries, I now present before you a historical survey of the Vedic gods. Here also a few general remarks are needed at the start. According to our tradition “मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोर्वेदनामधेयम्”, Veda means Mantras and their explanations, the Brahmanas. Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads are also included under these two categories. The history that I am to survey here is gathered from all these classes of texts.

Of the Mantra texts, the *R̥gveda-saṁhitā* is generally assumed to be the earliest portion. But this is a mere assumption. Analytical study has shown that there are early (definitely the earliest) portions and late portions in the *R̥gveda-saṁhitā*. In the language of E.V. Arnold it is more of a library than a book. There are even very late portions in this text. We can roughly take it to be containing materials from the earliest to the latest periods of Vedic history.

This *R̥gveda-saṁhitā* is a collection of prayers addressed to different deities. The so-called secular matter in it, like the Gambler's lament (X.34) also ends in a prayer addressed to the dice. Of these deities in each family collection Agni comes first, Indra next and Viśve or All Gods third and other gods or goddesses come next. This may suggest that Agni was the most important of the

gods. But the fact that Indra hymns are more numerous than Agni hymns indicated that Agni was given greater importance by the collectors of the *R̥gveda-saṁhitā* who appear to have had the needs of the developed ritual before them when they set about gathering together all the floating materials needed by the Hotṛ priest. It is quite possible or rather very likely that Yajurvedic material was collected before the R̥gvedic material was gathered. The importance of Agni in the developed ritual was that Agni was a *sine qua non* for the performance of any sacrifice.

Let us, therefore, start with AGNI. We have already seen that Agni appears to have been worshipped from the earliest Indo European times. He was, however worshipped on his own account. The use of Agni for sacrifices to other gods appears to have been a later development. The reason for this transition appears to be that Fire as Light was considered as a counter-entity of darkness and thus an adversary of all the forces of evil that prosper or function in darkness. The Parsi religion was described in antiquity by Greek and Roman writers as a religion of Duality, of a belief in two forces opposed to each other. But a careful study of other religions and folk-lore shows that such a nation of duality has been present everywhere. If there were the gods for doing good to us, there were the demons also for doing us harm. The Vedic Aryans also believed in demons whom they originally called by the names of Dāsá or Dásyu (sic) and later by Asura or Rakṣhas. The lighting of fire dispelled darkness. Hence Agni became Rakṣohan and setting up of Agni and his worship became necessary before the performance of any sacrifice. I may here cite the parallel of lighting of a lamp in our Smārtu ceremonies. Agni



became the Invoker of the Gods, because the lighting of fire was a signal to the gods to get ready for partaking of offerings made by men. When these offerings began to be made in Agni he became the Mouth of the Gods (अग्निमुखा ह वं देवाः), The Bhṛguṣ have been described as having brought fire from Heaven. This may permit an inference that they were responsible for the introduction of an especial fire-cult. The names Atharvan (=Possesser of fire) and Angiras (=Messenger) were also associated with Bhṛgu. It is not yet clear to us what that especial fire-cult was like. It may have led to the development of those *śānti*, and *puṣṭ* ceremonies that later became the special province of the Atharva Veda. Conceptions similar to those in the Atharva Veda are however, found in plenty in the other Vedas. As Agni came to be needed in every sacrifice, he became the special god of the priests who developed a personal relationship with him of the nature of *bhakti* (cf स नः पितॄन् सुनवेऽग्ने सुपायनो भव (in I. 1. 9) which is among those facts which disprove Grierson's view that *bhakti* has come to India under Christian influence.

Agni became not only *havya-vāhana* (the carrier of oblations) but also *kavya-vāhana* (the carrier of offerings to the Pitṛs). Disposal of the dead body by burning in fire is also found among other Indo-European peoples in antiquity and may have been a common Indo-European practice. There are, however, references in the *Rgveda-saṁhitā* to going after death to an earthen chamber meaning probably burial. But if we take this as the burial of the ashes in an earthen vessel, all difficulties are removed and there is accord with all the facts known so far. Agni was thus not only *havya-vāhana* and *kavya-vāhana* but also *kravya-vāhana*. Other forms of Agni, Agni

Sviṣṭakṛt, Tanūnapāt, Narāśamśa appear to have come in for worship.

The Indo-Aryans seem to have developed from an early age a tendency of seeing unity in the midst of diversity. Fire on earth was realised to be the same as lightning in the sky and the Sun higher up. This idea is reflected in Rv. S. II. 35. 13

स इ० वृषा० जनयन्तासु गभ० स इ० शिशुर्धयति तं रिहन्ति ।

सो अपा० नपादनभिम्लातवर्णोऽन्यस्येवेह तुवा० विवेश ॥

The fastness of lightning made for its conception as a horse. In the ritual for setting up of fire (agnyādhāna) the fire that was produced by attrition was made to touch the feet of a horse before being put on the altar suggesting that it is the same fire which has come from heaven. Anthropologists believe that man first learnt about fire and its domestic use from forests catching fire after fall of lightning from the heaven.

The Fire Altar was originally a simple chamber made of earth but in the Agni-cayana, which is a later development, altars were made of bricks arranged in a particular manner and given particular shapes. The *Nāciketa citi* is referred to in a text now found in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, partly copied in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*. Another well-known altar was the *Śyena citi* in the form of a hawk, needed in the *Śyena Yāga* which was a ceremony for destroying an enemy (abhicāra). In Śabara-svāmin's commentary on the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras* of Jaimini, however, *Śyena Yāga* was not considered as *dharma*, by interpreting the word *artha* in the second sūtra in a special manner.

We may now pass on to the next deity in the family collections of the *Rgveda-saṃhitā*, INDRA. Indra hymns



are the largest in number for any single deity. That shows his great popularity. The reason for this will appear in the sequel. Indra carries in his arm the *vajra*, the thunder-weapon and he has been called the *vajrin*. This suggested to Max Müller and other students of Vedic mythology that he was the Thunder-god. That was also the view of Yāska. But comparative and analytical study of some other sources of information reveal the fact that he was a god of strength and war and that was his original character. In the *R̥gveda-saṁhitā* Indra is again and again described as destroyer of Vṛtra (*Vṛtra-han*). The word *vṛtrā* has been very frequently used in the *Saṁhitā* for 'enemy'. When it was used for a particular person, it was probably in the sense of "the Enemy *par excellence*". In the Avesta *Vereθrayna* is clearly the god of victory. In the Hittite documents we come across a god INARAS, who is a god of war. It is not possible to believe with Sturtevant that the Hittite language represents a stage in many respects earlier than Indo-European. But its Indo-European affinities cannot be doubted. There are non-Indo-European elements also in Hittite. The best explanation that has been offered so far for the Indo-European and non-Indo-European elements in Hittite is that of Luckenbill who said that this was due to the fusion of two distinct peoples. We are, therefore, entitled to take cognisance of the Hittite parallel. Then there is the name of a deity, a goddess Andarste or Andresta (=अन्तरस्ता), worshipped by the ancient Celts as evidenced by Dio Cassius. Several etymologies have been offered of the name Indra. But the one that appears to suit the facts best is that of Hermann Jacobi, who connected it with Greek *aner*='man'. The Greek word shows the glide *d* in the genitive form *androw* and in derivatives like

*andriya* ('courage') which comes very close to Vedic 'in-driya' ('strength'). Indra was definitely the most manly, of the gods :

यो जात एव प्रथमो मनस्वान् देवो देवान् क्रतुना पर्यभूषत् ।  
यस्य शुष्माद्रोदसी अम्यसेतां नृम्णस्य मुह्ना स जनास इन्द्रः (II.121)  
यस्मान्न ऋते विजयन्ते जनासो यं युध्यमाना अवसे हवन्ते ।  
यो विश्वस्य प्रतिमानं बभूव यो अच्युतच्युत् स जनास इन्द्रः ॥

Indra was the lord of Śacī, might, later understood as the husband of Śacī.

As the god of strength Indra became the great killer of demons. Originally Rudra, Maruts, Apām Napāt and Trita Āptya were connected with rains and thunder. A myth grew around these phenomena. It was believed that a demon stole away the precious waters figuratively conceived as cow and kept them concealed in a rocky enclosure high up in the skies and a god had to kill the demon, break open the enclosure and release the bellowing cows. Who could be that god other than the god of strength and the great slayer of demons, Indra ? Indra thus acquired the character of the god of rains and thunder and dispossessed Rudra and others of this character. We have an excellent parallel in Greek mythology. Poseidon was originally the god of thunder in Greece. But Zeus, the sky-god, became the thunderer also and Poseidon became the god of the Sea, retaining however, the Trident, the symbol of thunder. Rudra in India also retained his thunder symbol, the Trisūla. Like Poseidon Apām Napāt, the Son of the Waters, fell from the heavenly ocean to the terrestrial sea as Vāḍavāgni.

Indra was originally as a god of strength and war, essentially a god of the fighters and found great favour



with Kings who had to be victorious in wars. It is significant that *dāna-stuties* of royal patrons appear mostly at the end of Indra hymns. He was the supreme god in the physical plane. With the acquisition of the character of a Thunder god he gained in mass appeal, because all members of the community needed rains for their crops and for their cattle.

As god of rains he became the fructifier of the soil. इन्द्र अहल्यायै जारः meant that he made even barren land impervious to the operation of the plough, bear crops. As a god of fertility he became like Dionysus in Greece associated with erotic-mystic worship among women like the Maenads of Greece. This is the meaning of Rv. S. VIII. 91.3. कुवित् पतिद्विषो यतीरिन्द्रे' संगमामहै, verse 4 reminds us of and is the source of the allegory of the Gopis. The beautification of Apālā referred to in the last verse reminds us of Kubjā favoured by Kṛṣṇa.

For all his popularity Indra could not escape the ravages of time and he gradually declined in importance. This decline is reflected in Rv. S. X. 86, the famous *Vṛsākapi Sūkta*, about which I shall speak later when I speak about the solar deities. He remained the god of gods in theory but the Purāṇas and classical literature again and again write about his defeats at the hands of demons and the necessity he felt for human assistance in fighting his demon adversaries.

Skipping over the Viśva devas whose number and character were not definite, let, us come to the Solar deities. The Vedic texts know of a number of Solar gods. There is Savitr, the propeller, Sūrya the Bright Orb, Pūṣan, the protector of the cattle, Mitra, the friendly rising sun, Aryaman, the noble one and Viṣṇu, the moving

Sun. Each had a distinct character of his own. It is only Viṣṇu among them, who has survived as a great god up to the present day. Savitrī, Sūrya, Pūṣan, Mitra etc. are only synonyms for the Sun in later usage.

Viṣṇu's motion is indicated in the texts by his three treads which probably mean going up, moving forward and going down. This has been later changed into the story of Trivikrama Viṣṇu and Vāmana. That the original of the Purāṇic Viṣṇu was a Solar God is indicated by the solar symbols in the four hands, Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gadā and Padma. We have traces of the later conception of Goloka or Vaikuṇṭha in the Viṣṇu hymns of the R̥gveda-saṁhitā. His highest tread, Viṣṇupada is full of honey, where the pious have their enjoyment after death.

Mitra, Varuṇa and a number of other gods have been called Ādityas. Mitra is constantly associated with Varuṇa. They inseparately go together. There are texts (like Rv. S. I. 115.5) that indicate that Mitra is connected with the morning and Varuṇa with the night. It is on the basis of such texts that Oldenburg with his theory that the Ādityas were Planets supposed that Varuṇa was the Moon. Mitra and Varuṇa go together, but the sun and the moon do not. Taking my clue from an ancient Egyptian practice of giving the sun-god different names in different points of time, I framed the hypothesis that Mitra was the Morning or Day Sun and Varuṇa the Evening or Night Sun. These are the two aspects of the self-same deity. Mitra and Varuṇa watch over the doings of man with unwinking eyes. A passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says that the sun has got two sides, one bright and the other dark and that it constantly moves to and fro from the eastern sky to the western and from the western to the eastern horizon, keeping either the bright



side or the dark side turned towards us. This explains how Mitra and Varuṇa together keep watch over human actions. Varuṇa is, among these two partners, the more active person in watching over our actions, because it is at night that people get the best opportunity for sinful behaviour. Mitra as Mithra in Iran and later in Europe was represented in Roman works of art as the rising sun. Varuṇa as the setting sun would naturally be associated with the western direction (later known as *वाराणी दिक्*). It is probably in the west that the Aryans first came to know of the sea. Varuṇa through his association with the western sea where he appeared to set became associated with the sea and with waters. This association took place within the Vedic period itself and there are Vedic texts showing this connexion. The Śunah-śepa story reminds us of the real or symbolic sacrifice of the first-born in Gangā-Sāgara that was current in Bengal.

It is because Varuṇa was especially associated with morals and correct conduct and was quick in retribution for wrong actions that in the developed ritual *prāyaścitta* ceremonies were performed in his honour. He may have practically disappeared from the Puranic pantheon, but he maintained himself throughout the Vedic period.

Viṣṇu was, however, luckier. In the Brāhmaṇas he is found associated with the sacrifice and in later times he acquired even foreign votaries like Heliodorus. The Kṛṣṇa cult gave him a new base of life. Kṛṣṇa, son of Devakī, who was taught by Ghora Āṅgīrasa the doctrine of looking upon life as a continuous sacrifice, appears to have taught it to others after his own thirst in life was quenched. When he was deified, he was identified

with Viṣṇu the god of sacrifices according to the Brāhmaṇas. Incidentally, the sun-god appears to have been the tribal god of the Yādavas as we learn from the Govardhana story. Kṛṣṇa was an important figure in this tribe.

I may here come to the meaning of the Vṛṣākapi hymn. It has been very variously interpreted, the best known in India being the astronomical interpretation of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. That interpretation is vitiated by number of baseless assumptions and self-contradictions. There are clear indication in the hymn that Vṛṣākapi is just the Sun (lit. the strong tawny coloured one). We have here a complaint voiced by Indrāṇi that Indra the old popular god was no longer receiving popular worship which had gravitated towards Vṛṣākapi, the Sun-god. Indra replies that he is satisfied with Vṛṣākapi and his worship pleased all the gods. Indrāṇi tries different measures to alienate the sympathy of Indra but fails and has ultimately to accept Vṛṣākapi as a friend. This appears to be the straight forward meaning of the hymn. Bengalis will recall the story of Behulā and Nakhindar, in which the merchant Chānd, an exclusive devotee of Śiva is forced by him to pay homage to the Snake-goddess Manasā. Indra who could satisfy warriors in the heroic age and the common man interested in worldly prosperity could not satisfy spiritually advanced men who turned towards the Sun-god for their spiritual satisfaction. We have a parallel in the history of Mithraism.

Some European scholars have seen in the Ādityas with their especial connexion with human morals the influence of Yahve or of the Babylonian Planet-gods, including Šams, the sun-god. This is under a diffusionist theory which does not apply in the present case. Powers



of light are naturally adversaries of darkness. I have already said that it is in darkness that sin prospers. Gods of light must, therefore, be naturally adversaries of Sin, negatively, and friends of virtue positively. We find among the hairy Ainus of Japan, absolutely unconnected with ancient Israel or Babylonia a similar connexion between the sun-god and righteousness. This must needs be an independent evolution in each case due to natural psychological development.

I have to speak here about two other deities of light, the Aśvins and Uṣas. The Aśvins are the first harbingers of the morning light, Uṣas of the glow that comes after it. They are personifications of those natural phenomena and were gratefully worshipped for announcing the disappearance of the night with all its terrors. The Aśvins appear to have been conceived as two outriders heralding the advent of the sun. A relief on the outer wall of a Buddhist cave at Bhaja near Poona of the second century B.C., showing a dignitary accompanied by two females driving in a chariot and crushing under its wheels certain uncouth figures and having two riders on the two sides, probably represents the Sun, Chāyā and Prabhā and the demonesses of darkness overpowered by the light of the Sun. If this is the conception of the Aśvins, it is inevitable that they should be taken as great succourers. So is their sister Uṣas. She was worshipped not because she was beautiful, which of course she was, but because she was useful. If *arthakriyā-kāritva* (fulfilling of a purpose) can be the *lakṣaṇa* (definition) of *satya* (truth), it can also be the basis of personification and worship. This is the basis of worship of all gods and goddesses in the Vedas, whether powers of nature or functions or qualities.

I may here speak about an important deity, Hiranya-garbha, (the Golden Embryo) praised in Rv. S. X. 121. It has been assumed that Hiranyagarbha is Prajāpati, that is, the supreme deity. But why? The last verse in this hymn as found in the Śākala text is addressed to Prajāpati. But Śākalya did not know about that verse and has not given its *pada* analysis. It must have found its way into the canon after Śākalya wrote his famous Padā-pāṭha for the preservation from corruption of the Śaṁhitā text. Verses 1 to 9 are the original verses and they appear to be addressed to the Sun-god, conceived as supreme. Ahura Mazda was the name of the supreme god in ancient Iran but the Śakas used the word *Urmayazda* for the sun-god. In the Vṛṣākapi hymn the sun has been called Kapi=Tawny coloured and in a whole Kāṇḍa of the Atharvaveda he has been called Rohita. It is easy to believe that in Rv. S. X. 121, the Golden Egg is none but the Sun-god Rudra-Siva.

There are many other deities in Vedic literature but I omit them, because they do not lend themselves to historical treatment and their omission does not affect the general picture. Goddesses are very few in number and their personalities are generally not so sharp as those of the gods. Important exceptions are Aditi, (literally Bondlessness), the mother of the Ādityas, later of all gods and Uṣas mentioned already. Pṛthivī the Earth has come in for worship either in association with Dyaus or singly. There is also the interesting goddess of the woods, Aranyānī. An important deity, Bṛhaspati or Brahmanaspati is reserved for my third lecture because of his bearing on the development of the idea of Brahma.





## HISTORY OF VEDIC RELIGION

### III

इष्टदेवीं नमस्कृत्य परब्रह्मस्वरूपिणीम् ।

आत्मदर्शनस्वारस्यं वेदस्य दर्शयाम्यहम् ॥

I have passed in review the main deities in the Vedic pantheon. Besides these gods and goddesses, the Aryans recognised the existence of the highest god who is called (*Paramā devatā*), who is called by various names, one of them being *Pita nah* (our Father). In the *Brāhmaṇas* he appears very frequently as *Prajāpati* (the Lord of Creatures). Gods and Demons, in fact all, are described as His issue. He is often called *anirukta*, undefinable, which shows a great advancement in philosophical reflection. Even here we do not come to *monotheism*, because *Prajāpati* is not the only god. The famous verse

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहु रथोद्विजः स सुपुणोर्गुरुत्मान्

एकं सद्भिर्वा बहुधा वदन्त्यग्निं यमं मातरिष्वानमाहुः ॥

of the *Asya-vāmīya* Hymn (Rv. S. I. 164.46) shows a still later development, that of pantheism about which I shall speak in the sequel. Even here there is no monotheism, because Indra, Mitra etc. though described as identical with *One Existence* (एकं सत्) are mutually distinct. To about the period of this hymn belongs the still more famous *Puruṣa Sūkta*, in which we are told

पुरुष एवेदं सर्वं यद्वृत्तं यच्च भव्यम् (Rv. S. X. 90.2)

“Puruṣa is all this, whatever is past and what is still to be.”

A variety of deities with the Highest God at their head was the Higher Existence that the Vedic Aryan believed in. Let us see what he did for its relation. The Vedic worship consisted in the performance of sacrifices to these gods and goddesses. Prajapati does not appear to have been an object of worship in the earlier stage but sacrifices were also performed in His honour in later times.

These sacrifices seem to have been originally a very simple affair, more or less of the same type as described by Herodotus for the Persians. Only one priest was needed, who was called by various names *Hótr*, *Brahmán*, *Vipra*, *Puróhita* &c. In course of time the sacrifice became more and more complex and different types of it were developed. The number of priests also naturally increased a division of labour was established. There was the *Adhvaryu*, the priest who had to do most of the work, the *Hotr*, the invoker who had also to read the *śastra* prayers in bigger sacrifices, the *Udgātṛ* who had to sing the *sāma*s where needed and the *stotra* prayers in the bigger sacrifices and the *Brahman*, the superintending priest. There were many other assistants. It is for the three classes of priests, *Hotṛ*, *Udgātṛ* and *Adhvarya*, that the Mantra and *Brāhmaṇa* portions of the *R̥gveda*, *Yajurveda* and *Sāmaveda* were gathered together. The *Brahman* had to be scholar of all the three Vedas and know their rituals.

Of these sacrifices the daily *Agnihotra* was the simplest sacrifice. It made for a really personal relationship with *Agni-devatā*. It took very little time. Other ceremonies were further classed into *nitya* and *kāmya* types. *Nitya* ceremonies were those which one must perform and *kāmya*, those which may be performed for the attainment of certain desires. *Naimithika* or occasional cere-



monies are found in the Gr̥hya or Domestic Sacraments. The Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifices to be performed every New Moon and Full Moon though described as to be performed by a person desiring Heaven had necessarily to be performed by every householder who had established the Śrauta fires and performed the Agnihotra. There were seasonal sacrifices like the Varuṇa-praghāsa and annual sacrifices like the Jyotiṣṭoma. From the point of view of the articles offered the sacrifices were classed into different types, Homa (like the Agnihotra) in which only milk or ghee was offered, Iṣṭi (like the Darśapūrṇamāsa) in which cereals are also offered, Paśu (like the Nīrūḍha paśubandha) in which meat was also offered and Soma (like the Jyotiṣṭoma) in which was offered besides the articles mentioned before, the fermented juice of the Soma creeper mixed with water. This Soma must have been a common offering when the Aryans were confined to the north-west. But the difficulty of obtaining the material as the Aryans penetrated more and more into this vast land led to its limited use. Ultimately substitutes like *pūtikā* had to be used.

Soma sacrifices, later considered as the most important ones, were classed into three types, *Ekāha*, *Ahīna*, *Sattra*. *Ekāha* was a sacrifice in which the Soma was pressed and offered during one day or one day and night. In *Ahīna* the Soma offering continued for several days. e.g. six or even twelve. There were, however, a number of preliminary sacrifices to be performed for several days in the *Ekāha* or the *Ahīna*, before the days of the Soma-offering. In the Jyotiṣṭoma four such days are taken up in the beginning. The late Aśvamedha sacrifice was also an *Ekāha* ceremony but it took full one year for its performance.

It is not my intention here to give an elaborate description of the Vedic sacrifice or its history. I have introduced the topic only for showing the early Vedic and the middle Vedic way for the realisation of Higher Existence. In each ceremony there was an element of *Havis-śeṣa Bhakṣaṇa*, partaking of the remnant of the sacrifice. It is through this that the worshipper entered into a temporary communion with the worshipped. The great Ramendrasundara Trivedi has shown this effectively in his *yajña-kathā*. Śeṣa (the Remnant) has even become a deity in the Veda. Raptures of this communion are sung in connexion with the Soma offering, eg.

अपाम् सोममुता अभुम  
अगन्म ज्योतिरविदाम देवान् । (Rv. S. VIII. 48. 3)

I may quote here some thrilling verses from the Pavamāna Maṇḍala of the Rgveda-saṃhita :

यत्र ज्योतिरजस्रं यस्मिन् लोके स्वहितम् ।  
तस्मिन् मांघोहि पवमाना मृतं लोके अक्षितु इन्द्रायेन्दो परित्व ॥  
यत्र राजा वैवस्वतो यत्रावुरोधनं दिवः ।  
यत्रामृयं ह्वतीरापस्तत्र माममृतं कृधीन्द्रायेन्दो परित्व ॥  
यत्र कामा निकामाश्च यत्र ब्रध्नस्यं विष्टपम् ।  
स्वधा च यत्र तृप्तिश्च तत्र माममृतं कृधीन्द्रायेन्दो परि त्व ॥  
यत्रानुन्दाश्च मोदाश्च मुदः प्रमुद आसते ।  
कामस्त्व यत्राप्ताः कामास्तत्र माममृतं कृधीन्द्रायेन्दो परि त्व ॥

(IX. 113. 7-11)

Many moderners consider the Vedic sacrifice, in fact all ceremonies, as mere *abracadabra*, with no spiritual contents about them. Passages like above give the lie to such views. I have seen Vedic sacrifices performed in Vārāṇasī, Mahārāṣṭra and Drāviḍadeśa and I have noticed the spirit of holiness in the performers of these



rites. Where can we escape rituals? The human mind needs such supports for concentration for a higher purpose.

The sacrifice had two elements, the element of speech and the element of action. The element of speech was supplied by the mantras uttered in various forms. Mantras were called *bráhman* from  $\angle br\bar{h}$  ( $\angle br\bar{h}$ ) 'to extend' 'to magnify'. These mantras were thought to be very effective, originally in securing the favour of the gods, later as co-equal with the gods and in still later times, as capable of achieving results by themselves. The presiding deity of the efficacious power of the mantras was Bráhmanas-páti or Bṛhas-pati, 'the Lord of Prayers'. This deity was considered as capable of achieving every thing. He was called गुणानां गुणवर्ति: because the mantras were uttered in the later ritual by a number of priests. As mantras led to success, their presiding deity, Gaṇapati, later became the Purāṇic god of success, the elephant headed Gaṇapati, the elephant's shape and the carrier, Rat, being the symbols of plenty and prosperity.

Some European scholars have wrongly assumed that the word *Bráhman* originally meant 'magic'. This strange view started from the acceptance of the wrong claim made in the later literature of the Atharva-veda that this Veda was the Veda of the Brahman priest. The Atharvaveda had nothing to do with the Vedic Śrauta ritual. In fact it was recognised as a Veda in very late times. Patañjali, the author of the *Māhabhāṣya* or Pāṇini's grammar, however, recognised the Atharvaveda as Veda *par excellence*. It is significant that for him the *Saṁhitā* of this Veda started with the verse शं नो देवीरुभिष्टये ऽ८, which is the first verse in the Paippalāda recension.

of the *Atharvaveda-saṁhitā*, as opposed to the Śaunaka recension. Patañjali belonged to Eastern India. The discoveries of Sri Durga Mohan Bhattacharya have shown that this was a recension of Eastern India and not of Kashmir as supported by Western scholars. It may be borne in mind in this connexion that Kashmir and Eastern India (particularly) have shown in antiquity great affinities.

At this stage I have to refer to the Vedic attitude towards Truth. I have told you in my first lecture that Truth was a cardinal virtue with the Aryans. The Vedas say that the Earth is propped up by Truth (सत्येनोत्तमिता भूमिः Rv. S. X. 85.1, Av. S. XIV. 1.1). The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* says with reference to the alternative mantra for *Vrata-grahaṇa*, इदमहमनूतात् सत्यमुपैमि in the Darśa-pūrṇamāsa sacrifice, that gods are of the nature of truth and men of the nature of falsehood and that one has to assume that quality of the gods when performing the worship of the gods. This reminds us, of our later idea देवो भूत्वा देवान् यजेत, following which we perform अङ्गव्यास etc. in the Tantric ritual. There is, in fact, no antagonism between Nigama and Āgama, the Vedas and the Tantras, as commonly supposed.

We may here try to understand the history of the word *Rta*. *Rta* originally did not mean *Satya*. These two words have often been distinguished in the earlier Vedic texts. *Rta* is an Aryan word, coming down from the Indo-Iranian times, as is evidenced by the Avestan word *aša* and Ancient Persian *arta*. *Aša* means in the Avesta 'righteousness'. There are passages in the Vedas where *rta* appears to bear the meaning of 'Cosmic Order'. It is generally believed by Vedic scholars that this was



the original meaning of the word in the Vedas. I have, however, my doubts. My own reading of the texts reveals that the word meant 'the sacred rite'. There is Avestic evidence also in favour of this meaning. The sacrifice was believed to be able to achieve every thing. It was equated with the Sun-god Viṣṇu and thus with Puruṣa in the famous Puruṣa Śukta, where everything is described as coming out of the sacrificed Puruṣa number two. Mantras form the most important element of the sacrifice. The *Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa* speaks of the creation by Prajāpati of different things by the pronunciation of the different words of the mantra एते असृष्टमाजन्तः &c (Rv. S. IX. 63.4., Sv. S.). It is thus that ऋत as 'rite' or 'the ritualistic order', came at times to signify 'the cosmic order'. We may in this connexion compare the meanings of the word *dharma* in the Mīmāṃsā literature and the literature of the Buddhists.

Now Satya or truth being of the nature of gods, it became a *sine qua non* of *ṛta*, i.e. the worship of the gods. Consequently *asatya* became the great enemy of *ṛta* and thus *an-ṛta par excellence*. Speaking an untruth was just a sin, like any other sin but telling a lie while performing a sacrifice, i.e. the worship of the gods destroyed the rite itself. It is in this way that *a-satya* and *an-ṛta* later came to be taken as synonyms and thus *ṛta* and *satya* also became synonyms.

What has been just said is a demonstration of the great value attached by the Vedic Aryans to the great virtue of Truth. A people thus attached to Truth must needs understand the value of direct realisation of truth. This came about when the cultural commingling of the Aryans and the pre-Aryans took place. I have already

said that this took place after the Aryans came to the Kurukṣetra country and moved further east. I have several times shown that

किं तै कृण्वन्ति कीकटेषु गावो  
नाशिर' दुह्ने न तपन्ति धर्मम्  
आ नो भर प्रमगन्दस्य वेदो  
नैचाशाखं मघवन्स्त्वया नः

in Rv. S. III. 53.14 gives

us the evidence of Aryan and pre-Aryan contacts in Kīkaṭa i.e. Kurukṣetra (*sic*).

I have also pointed out that the pre-Aryans of the Indus basin have left us the evidence of yogic practices. There are indications of ascetic practices also. Later Vedic texts like the Keśin hymn in the Tenth Maṇḍala of the *R̥gveda-saṃhitā* (X. 136) speaking about the hermit wearing coloured robes and capable of moving freely in space through miraculous powers obtained through yoga show that by them the Aryans had imbibed *yoga* and *tapas* from their elder brothers the pre-Aryans of India. I have suggested elsewhere that the Sāṃkhya philosophy of Kapila has really emanated from these early Kapilas, i.e. the tawny-robed ascetics of remote antiquity from whom also came in all likelihood the belief in the transmigration of Soul.

When the Aryans finally settled down in the land and ceased constantly fighting one another or fighting the non-Aryans, they got the leisure and the inclination for the pursuit of philosophical thought and discussions. It was probably in this period of thought fermentation partly comparable to the Age of the Sophists, in Greece, that the Upaniṣads arose. The patrons of these discussions and sometimes the leaders, appear to have been



the Kings and not the warriors, as is commonly supposed. The word *Kṣatriya* meant a King from *Kṣatra* = 'dominion'. If formerly sacrifices received royal patronage, this age show the shift of importance to knowledge. The old votaries of the sacrifice, the priests refused to be left behind and they too enthusiastically turned towards the new learning. If the first Kāṇḍa of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* shows Yājñavalkya as a great ritualist, its last Kāṇḍa shows him as a great exponent of the Brahma lore.

In this age, people began thinking about an ultimate cause. The Vedic hymns speak about gods disposing the world in the shape in which it is found. The Nāsadiya Sūkta of the *R̥gveda-saṁhitā* (X. 129) essayed the tackling of the problem of creation but ended with a courageous recognition of the limits of human understanding. It made one great advance in thought when it recognised the truth that nothing can come out of nothing. This has coloured Indian thought in all subsequent ages. The Aryans had already begun to recognise a Highest Being Prajāpati, whom they often called *anirukta*, inscrutable. In the present age the old ritualistic term *Brahman* (Mantra) was transferred to the First cause that the philosophers posited, because of its neuter gender and the consequent capability of suggesting that which is beyond speech and thought (वतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह)

During the great period of Sacrifices, the gods had lost their status. They themselves were described in the *Brāhmaṇas* as performing sacrifices. The sacrifice was a handiwork of man. Man thus rose in importance. In the New Age man had through Yogic meditation begun

to have direct realisation of everything and his importance was further enhanced by his identification with the Absolute by the Upaniṣadic mahāvākyas अयमात्मा ब्रह्म, तत्त्वमसि, सोऽहमस्मि et. cetera. The Higher Existence that man has to realise is higher than anything that had been conceived of so far that is not something far away from him. It is the innermost core of his self which he has to reach through *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana* (अरेऽयमात्मा द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः) and through the grace of a Guru (आचार्यवान् पुरुषो वेद). It is thus in Vedānta that the religious ideas of the Vedas find their consummation. I may, therefore, be permitted to stop here.

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**SECTION II**

**Historical and Geographical Setting  
of the Early Vedic Literature**



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## THE BOGHAZKOI INSCRIPTIONS AND THEIR VALUE FOR VEDIC CHRONOLOGY

This paper proposes to discuss some of the issues raised by Prof. Winternitz in his Lectures on the Age of the Veda, published in Calcutta Review (Nov., 1923)

Professor Winternitz is no narrow specialist. He is thoroughly acquainted with the whole range of early Indian literature (Vedic, Classical Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit) and his views can claim the respect of students of Vedic chronology. He seems to have lost faith in astronomical arguments and rightly bases his conclusions on historical and geographical grounds. He has worked on very sound lines and he ought to convince the worst sceptic. Still he seems to have not *sufficiently* emphasised the vast difference in language, metre and thought between the earliest and the latest hymns of the R̥gveda though he has said in italics, "*Centuries must have passed between the composition of the earliest hymns and the completion of the Saṁhitā of the R̥gveda.*" He has also exaggerated the agreement of the language of the Ancient Persian Inscriptions with that of the Vedas. The resemblance is rather with classical Sanskrit or even the earliest Prakrit dialects. The language of the Avesta shows us forms considerably earlier than those of the Ancient Persian Inscriptions. Hence it would not be difficult to push back the beginning of the R̥gvedic literature to 3000 B. C.



Professor Winternitz thinks that no conclusion about Vedic chronology can be drawn from the mention of four Indian deities in the two Boghaz Köi treaties. But I shall try to show that some help may be derived from this source. It is probable that between 2000 B. C. and 1500 B. C. or a little later there were several arrivals of Aryan peoples in Asia Minor and all doubt is removed by the occurrence of these four names of undoubtedly Aryan gods in the Hittite treaties. This fact has some importance from the Indian point of view. We find in two Vedic passages of the Brāhmaṇa period indications of a recent arrival in India of other Aryan peoples on a large scale. It is possible to think that between 2000 B. C. and 1400 B. C. there were several stampedes of Aryans from Central Asia, that some of these peoples found their way to Asia Minor and formed the ancestors of the Kassites, the princes of Mittani and the people whose deities are mentioned in the two treaties between Shubbiluliuma and Mattiuaza and that some entered India and became known as Vrātyas.<sup>1</sup>

We find the Vrātyas first described in the Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa and in the fifteenth book of the Atharva Veda Samhitā (Śaunakīyā) which in language and form resembles a Brāhmaṇa text and probably belongs to the beginning of the Brāhmaṇa period. The Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa has given a pretty full description of the dress and way of life of these Vrātyas. From this we cannot

1. Some of these Aryans of Central Asia may also have entered Europe and become the ancestors of the western *satemites*, the Baltic and the Slavic people. This supposition would give an easy explanation of their close resemblance with the Indo-Iranians.

conclude that these Vrātyas followed a religion different from that of the Vedic Indians. Their nomad existence precluded the possibility of performance of sacrifices but they must have worshipped much the same gods, otherwise the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa would have noted the difference. Even the earliest hymns of the Ṛgveda show us a highly developed religion, and the religion of the Vedic Indians must have grown and developed in Central Asia prior to their entrance into India. Aryan religion is thus a thing of Central Asiatic growth. It must have lingered there for many centuries even after the ancestors of Indians and Iranians had left for their later homes. We find therefore in the Pahlavi Aryādgār-i-Zarīrān and in Firdausi that the Turanian king Arjāsp declared war against Vištāsp for leaving their common ancestral religion and coming under the influence of Zarathuṣtra's innovations. This tradition about the unity of Iranian and Turanian religions finds an unexpected confirmation from two Avestan texts, Farvardin Yasht 100 and Zamyād Yasht 86 where king Vištāsp is said to have freed the Zoroastrian religion from the influence of the *Hunns* (Turanians). Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Modi therefore rightly says, "The early Huns, *i.e.*, the Huns of the times of the Avesta seem to have professed well-nigh the same religion as that of the early Iranians."<sup>2</sup> The religion of the Zoroastrian Iranians was much the same as in India, except in those particulars which were due to the reformation of Zarathuṣtra and those that can be accounted for by natural development. There would thus be nothing strange in our finding among the Vrātyas<sup>3</sup> of India and

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2. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 76.

3. It is usual in our country to suppose that the Vrātyas were



the Arvans of Asia Minor much the same religion as in Vedic India.

Now the most important statements in the Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa about the Vrātyas are हीना वा एते हीयन्ते ये ब्रात्यां (ब्रत्यां in the text, a printing mistake for ब्रात्यां) प्रवसन्ति न हि ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति न कृषिं न वणिज्जाम्—१७॥१२॥६॥ and गरगिरो वा एते ये ब्रह्माद्यं जन्ममन्नमदन्ति अदुक्तवाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुरदण्ड्यं दण्डेन घ्नन्तश्चरन्ति अदीक्षिता दीक्षितवाचं वदन्ति—॥१७॥१॥६॥. From the former we learn that the Vrātyas lived a nomad life; from the latter, that they felt no scruples in snatching away the wealth of Brahmins and women, that they were rather militantly inclined, not hesitating to harm inoffensive people, and also that they gave themselves religious airs. “अदुक्तवाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुः ।” is understood to refer to the Prakritism in their speech but the context forces me to understand the passage quite differently. The previous expression ब्रह्माद्यं जन्मम् (from जनि=woman) अन्नम् अदन्ति “they devour the food of Brahmins and women” and the following one अदण्ड्यं दण्डेन घ्नन्तश्चरन्ति “they walk about belabouring persons least deserving of the rod” make us suspect that अदुक्तवाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुः refers to similar rowdyism. Now *durukta* certainly means *nindā* (vilification) in इयं दुरुक्तात्परिवाधमाना वर्णं पवित्रं पुनतीम आगात् । प्राणापानाभ्यां बलमाहरन्ती स्वसा देवी सुभगा मेखलेयम् ॥ (Mantra Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda, I. 6. 27), a verse utilised by followers of the Sāma and other Vedas in the ceremony of *mekhalābhāraṇa* (putting on of the sacred

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Indian Aryans who had lapsed into barbarism by living among non-Aryans or had dissented from the Vedic creed. I think the Vedic passages describing them do not warrant such views. I may mention here only the different dress of the Vrātyas and their having a peculiar sort of cars in which they must have entered India.

girdle) in connection with Upanayana.<sup>4</sup> The girdle saves the Brahmachārin from the reproach of breaking the vow.<sup>5</sup> *Durukta* here clearly means 'reproach' and it has been so taken by Dr. H. Stöner ("vor böser Rede") in his translation of the Mantra Brāhmaṇa (I Pr.) and by Professor Oldenberg ("evil words") in his translation of the Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra. Taking a clue from this I interpret अदुक्तवाक्यं दुक्तमाहुः in the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa to mean 'they say (*i. e.*, consider) what is not a term of reproach to be a sling (directed against them)'—that is, they take offence at shadows. This is exactly in keeping with their aggressive character, clearly indicated in the other expressions, which scruples not to rob or oppress the poor. ब्रह्माद्यं जयमन्नमदन्त अदुक्तवाक्यं दुक्तमाहुरदण्ड्यं दण्डेन हन्त इचरन्ति thus shows that the Vṛātyas were a rather rough sort of people.

Along with this fierce character the Vṛātyas must have possessed religious (or magical ?) propensities. This is shown by the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa expression अदीक्षिता दीक्षितवाचं वदन्ति and the whole fifteenth book of the Atharva Veda. '*Dīkṣita*' would mean one who had performed the *Soma* sacrifice. Such a person would be justly proud of his religious merits. But the Vṛātyas talked big though they did not perform any Vedic sacrifice. This

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4. Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra, II. 10. 37, Khādīra Gṛhya Sūtra, II. 4. 19, Jaiminiya Gṛhya, XII. 6. and Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra, II. 2. 8. In the last book it has the reading दुक्त्वं for दुक्तात् and आदधाना for आहुरन्ती both later improvements. Not having the Vedic Concordance before me I cannot say if the verse is utilised by the other Gṛhya Sūtras or not.
  5. For a somewhat similar idea I may refer my readers to Deuteronomy, XXII. 15.19.



was an unpardonable sin in the eyes of these ritual-loving writers of Brāhmaṇas. The Atharva Veda on the other hand being more liberal grew enthusiastic over the religious character (possession of magical or *Yogic* powers ?) of this very Vrātya and did not scruple to make a god of him. I believe that the Vrātya of the Atharva Veda is not the convert to the Vedic religion who has performed the conversion sacrifice (the Vrātyastoma) mentioned in the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa and in the Sūtras as Professors Macdonell and Keith have supposed.<sup>6</sup> I think he is there still a Vrātya and fresh from his northern home. This is made probable by the direction in the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa that the Vrātya must give away all his former belongings as *dakṣiṇā*. The sūtras *e. g.* Lātyāyana Śrauta, VIII. 6. 28) direct that they are to be given to those Vrātyas who may be still pursuing their old life<sup>7</sup> for which injunction the Tāṇḍya mahābrāhmaṇa statement एतद्वै ब्राह्मणं यस्मा एतद्भवति तस्मिन्नेव मृजाना यन्ति" (XVII. 1. 16) gives some sort of support. The Vrātya is thus to cut off all connection with his past and to begin life anew. The mention in Atharva Veda, XV. 2. 5-7 of the turban, the goad (lance ?), the open waggon

6. Vedic Index, II, p. 334.

7. The Lātyāyana Sūtra adds 'or to pseudo-Brahmins of Magadha's ब्रह्मबन्धवे वा मागधदेशीयाय This is very interesting as it shows that the Vedic culture had not yet spread in Magadha, and a Brāhmin settled there would be considered a pseudo-Brahmin. It would not be proper to conclude from the Lātyāyana statement that Buddhist heresy had begun to spread in Magadha for the simple reason that Buddha himself was not a heretic and he has uttered the highest praise for the true Brahmin—Brahmanical culture had fully permeated Magadha by his time.

and the other characteristic marks of the Vratya shows that he had not yet been converted into the Vedic way of life. He was thus a new-comer. He must have come from the north. This is made probable by the fact that in the Vājasaneyi Samhitā XXX. 8 and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa III. 4.5 he is dedicated to the Gandharvas and Apsarases, मन्वर्वाप्सरसोभ्यो ब्राह्मणम्, in the Puruṣamedha ('human sacrifice'); the north is certainly the direction of Gandharvas and Apsarases. As these Vrātyas came from the north, were religiously inclined and probably had mystic powers, they possessed a particularly sacred character in the eyes of those Indians who are responsible for the Atharva Veda. The Atharva Veda is a particularly liberal book and contains in it terms and tenets of other lands.<sup>8</sup> We find similarly in the later Tāntric literature which of something like a continuation of the Atharvavedic writings complimentary references to the practices in the *Cīna deśa* and the *Mahācīnadeśa* (Tibet and China).

From all this I conclude that the Vrātyas were Aryans who entered India from the north in the early Brāhmaṇa period (to which are to be ascribed the fifteenth book of the Atharva Veda and the thirtieth book of the Vājasaneyi Samhitā and the corresponding passage of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa) and were very keen about their religion though they never performed any sacrifices. It was after some time that many of them were overcome by the glamour of Vedic sacrifices, or became convinced of the superiority of the Vedic way of life, and took it into their heads to enter the Vedic fold by performing the Vrātyastoma

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8. See the late Mr. Tilak's article "The Chaldean and Indian Vedas" in the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.



sacrifice mentioned in the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa and the Sūtras. Their Indian name (*Vrātya*) shows that they came in hordes (*Vrāta*-troupe). Whether they actually invaded India is not known; they may have only sneaked their way into the land like gypsies.

I would consider the various Aryan tribes arriving in Asia Minor between 2000 B.C. and 1400 B.C. as similar "Vrātyas." They too were probably not very peaceful peoples and they were certainly particular about the gods they worshipped when they first came. They were also a very backward people from the point of view of civilisation. During the Kassite ascendancy, Babylonian culture received a set-back<sup>9</sup> and monumental and inscriptional activity became dead. The Mitannian princes were so prominent in Mesopotamian history only because they had thoroughly imbibed the culture of the land after centuries of life in Asia Minor. There is therefor nothing strange in King Dushratta's sending to the Pharaoh Nimmuriya (Amenhetep III) of Egypt the goddess Ishtar, of Nineveh and in his frequent invoking of Ishtar, Ammon, Tishub, Bilit and other deities of the land in the Tell-el-Amarna Letters. Mattiuaza too in his reply treaty with the King of Khatti invokes all those gods and goddesses whom Shubbilulima has invoked. This surrender of orthodoxy is the result of a long residence in the land. Still we may think that the mystic worship of *Aten* which Amenhetep IV (later Akhenaten) tried to introduce into Egypt is due to Mitannian influences. At any rate these various Aryans when they first came must have been zealous about their religion. If they had leanings

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9. Hall's Ancient History of the Near East, 1916, p. 200.

towards magic, these would not be noticed in Asia Minor, the land of magic.

If we can chronologically connect the various Aryan inroads in Asia Minor and the Vrātya inroads in India, Vedic chronology is put on a firm ground. Even an indefinite figure like 2000 B.C.—1400 B.C. is a great gain in Indian chronology. The beginning of the Brāhmaṇa period may be put sometime after 2000 B.C. and the Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa a little before 1400 B.C. or even before 1500 B.C. if we put the Bhārata battle in the fifteenth century B.C. The fact that most of the purāṇas put an interval of a little over a thousand years between Parikṣit's birth and the inauguration of Mahāpadma Nanda makes it probable that the Bhārata battle took place in the fifteenth century B.C.,<sup>10</sup> a date which would agree with the statement in the Khāravēla Inscription. The Brāhmaṇas or those portions of Brāhmaṇas which mention Janamejaya III, the son of Parikṣit II or Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vaicitravīrya<sup>11</sup> or other Mahābhāratic characters would be later than this date and those which do not make similar mentions need not be brought down to such a late date unless there should be positive ground against an early character. If we can thus place the beginning of the Brāhmaṇa period sometime after 2000 B.C. and before 1400 B.C. the earlier portions of the Yajurveda<sup>12</sup> and of the Atharveda will go back to a

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10. Pargiter has arrived at his date by confining himself to only one set of data and taking a much too low figure for the average of a generation.

11. I think काशीराज constitutes no difficulty.

12. Neither the Mantra nor the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā knows anything about the Vrātyas. The so-called



much earlier time—to 2000 B.C. or earlier and the beginning of R̥g Veda will therefore have to be put before 3000 B.C.

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Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa is a very late appendix to it. The Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā though compiled long after the T.S. has its earlier and later portions.

*Note*—In this paper I have often spoken of an 'Aryan people.' I mean by it any people speaking the Aryan language and following the Aryan religion. There is thus no connotation of 'Race' in the narrow Anthropological sense. This confession will save me from much misunderstanding.

## SUDĀS AND THE BHARATAS

This paper proposes to discuss some basic historical issues raised by Dr. Abinashchandra Das in the November number of the Calcutta Review (1923) With respect to the historical relevance of the Dr. Das's main contention is that the Tṛtsus are non-identified with the Bharatas, I propose to show that this contention is belied by the relevant passages in the R.V. famous Dāśrājña battle. As a student of the Ṛgveda I cannot help confessing that the account is much too full and much too sanguine. The texts which tell us of this battle are highly obscure and different scholars have understood them differently. Dr. Das has never allowed his readers to suspect that there was any possibility of a different view. The interpretations he has put on the Ṛgvedic passages on the subject are not likely to be accepted by other Vedic students. To show their probable meaning one must enter into the details of text interpretation. But these will not interest the general reader. Hence, avoiding technicalities as much as possible, I shall briefly discuss only one point—the relation of king Sudās with the Bharatas—in which Dr. Das is certainly in the wrong.

Dr. Das has rejected the identity of the Tṛtsus with the Bharatas. He writes, "It is surmised by some western scholars<sup>1</sup> that the Tṛtsus and the Bharatas were one

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1. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic, Index I. 363.



people, i.e., belonged to one clan or tribe in support of which they quote certain verses (RV. VI, 16. 4, 5, 19). But Bharata, mentioned in the fourth verse had no connection with Divodāsa, mentioned in the fifth and nineteenth verses. King Bharata worshipped Agni (fire) on the bank of the Sarasvatī; hence one name of Agni is Bhāratī, a name which was, in a later age, transferred to the goddess Sarasvatī presiding over *Vāch* or speech. Similarly, another name or epithet of Agni, as worshipped by Divodāsa was Daivodāsa (RV. VIII, 103, 2). In RV. VI, 16 the Ṛṣi Bharadvāja has simply referred to the fact that king Bharata and king Divodāsa both became famous in Ṛgvedic times by having been 'energetic supporters of the Fire ritual'. The Tṛtsus and the Bharatas should not, therefore, be regarded as one tribe". This is perhaps the only discussion in the whole paper—all else is dogmatic assertion. But the discussion has not established his point.

The fourth and fifth verses of this hymn (RV. VI. 16) when read together make it probable that Divodāsa was a Bharata and all doubt is removed by the nineteenth verse, which is, अग्निरगामि भारतो वृत्रहा पुरुचेतनः दिवोदासस्य सत्पतिः ॥ That Agni is being called *Bhārata* (worshipped by the Bharatas) and *Divodasasya Satpatiḥ* (the true lord of Divodāsa) in the same breath makes it more than probable that Divodāsa was a Bharata. The Bharatas are placed near the banks of the Sarasvatī in RV. III, 23, it is sure. But they are the descendants of the self-same Divodāsa, as I shall show elsewhere. RV. III. 33 and iii. 35, show us Viśvāmitra leading Sudās, Divodāsa's son (not grandson as Dr. Das and others have assumed—see RV. VII. 18. 25 (दिवोदासं न पितरं सुदासः) across the Beas and the Sutlej for conquering and probably settling in the

land to the south of these rivers. The Bhārata princes Devaśravas and Devavāta ('seers' of RV. III. 23) were probably some late descendants of the Tṛtsu-Bharatas settled in the land later known as Kuruṣetra. I shall have to discuss fully elsewhere the passages on which I have come to this conclusion and I therefore do not try to establish this point here. I only mention it to show that Dr. Das proves nothing by pointing out that Agni has been mentioned in one passage as Bhārata and as Daivodāsa elsewhere.

Fortunatley, RV. VI. 16. 19 is not the only passage which establishes that the Tṛtsu kings Divodāsa and Sudās were Bharatas. RV. III. 53 on which Dr. Das has drawn so much clearly proves this identity. He has cited in translation of verse 11 of this hymn. The following verse shows that Sudās was a Bharata. Let me quote the two verses and our readers will judge for themselves.

उप प्रेत कुशिका श्चेतयध्वमश्वं राये प्रमुञ्चता सुदासः ।  
 राजा वृत्रं जघनत्प्रागपागुदगथा यजाते वर आ पृथिव्याः ॥११॥  
 य इमे रोदसी उभे अहमिन्द्रमतुष्टवम् ।  
 विश्वामित्रस्य रक्षति ब्रह्मेदं भारतं जनम् ॥१२॥

That I may not be blamed of reading my own thoughts here, I give Griffith's translation :

"11. Come forward Kuśikas, and be attentive; let loose Sudāsa's horse to win him riches.

East, west and north, let the king slay the foeman, then at earth's choicest place perform his sacrifice.

12. Praises to Indra have I sung, sustainer of this earth and heaven.

This prayer of Viśvāmitra keeps secure the race of Bharatas."



I leave it to my readers to draw their own conclusions. The concluding verse of the hymn again refers to the sons of Bharata. It passes my understanding how Dr. Das could read in the first half of this hymn an eagerness on the part of Viśvamitra to help Sudās and in the latter half Viśvāmitra's deserting this very person and going over to his enemies (?). What this hymn means I shall show in detail elsewhere. I am here concerned only with the identity of the Tṛtsus and Bharatas.

Turning to the Vasiṣṭha collection, we find in VII. 33 [6] that Vasiṣṭha vaunts, "Formerly the Bharatas were like sticks for goading cattle, were scattered and insignificant but Vasiṣṭha became the priest and then the progeny of the Tṛtsus spread". The original is दण्डा इवेद् गोअजनास आसन् परिच्छिन्ना भरता अर्भकासः । अभवच्च पुर एता वसिष्ठ आदितृत्सूनां विशो अप्रयन्त ॥ My readers will see that I have given a literal translation. Dr. J. Muir, of course (Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I, first edition, p. 122), read in this passage a reference to the Bharatas as the vanquished enemies of the Tṛtsus. But his view is altogether untenable. दण्डा इवेद् गोअजनास आसन् परिच्छिन्ना भरता अर्भकासः shows the condition prior to the Vasiṣṭhas being chosen as priests and आदितृत्सूनां विशो अप्रयन्त the condition after that happy event. अर्भकासः means 'weak like children' and cannot therefore be a term of reproach. Sāyaṇa has given here a very natural interpretation from which I may make one quotation, which will probably interest Dr. Das : आदितृत्सूनां विशो अप्रयन्त तृत्सूनामेव राजाभरता इति नामान्तरेण उपादानम् (It is the Tṛtsu kings who are being here called by a different name, viz., 'Bharatas'). The vaunt expressed in this verse has a close parallel in R.V. VII. 18. 17 which Dr. Das has read and cited in his paper.

Dr. Das has read the article on the Ṛtsus in the Vedic Index but probably not the one on the Bharatas in the second volume (pp. 94-97) of the book. Had he done so he would have known that Professors Macdonell and Keith were not the only "Western Scholars" to identify the Ṛtsus with the Bharatas. But whatever regard he may have for these "Western Scholars", I have shown that one eastern scholar (Sāyaṇācārya on RV., VII. 33. 6) has believed in this identification. I shall cite another Eastern scholar and this time the Nirukta-kāra Yāska himself.

In the Nirukta (ii. 24-27) Yāska explains some of the the verses of RV. III. 33, a hymn which Dr. Das has utilised in his paper. Yāska begins his explanations with the following introductory remarks :—

विश्वामित्र ऋषि सुदासः पैजवनस्य पुरोहितो बभूव ॥ [विश्वामित्रः सर्वमित्रः सर्वं संसृतम् । सुदाः कल्याणदानः । पैजवनः पिजवनस्य पुत्रः । पिजवनः पुनः स्पृङ् वनीयजवो वा अभिश्रीभावगतिर्वा ॥] स वित्तं गृहीत्वा विपाद्छुतुद्भ्योः सम्भेदमाययो । अनुमयुरितरे । स विश्वामित्रो नदीस्तुष्टाव 'गाधा भवत्' इति ॥

Omitting the etymological notes, the above may be translated as, "The Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra was the priest of Sudās Paijavana.....He taking (his) money, came up to the confluence of the Vipāś and the Śutudrī (and) the others followed. Viśvāmitra then prayed to the rivers to become fordable". This passage clearly shows that Viśvāmitra was leading on Sudās and his tribe who must be 'the others' of Yāska. The naming of Sudās otherwise becomes unaccountable. I do not wish to hide from my readers the fact that Yāska's commentator Durgācārya paraphrases इतरे (others) by तदनुयायिनस्तस्करा वा ('his followers or thieves'). But Durgācārya is most clearly in the wrong. The text of Yāska, as it stands, forces us



to connect इतरे with Sudās Paijavana. Thieves are out of the question. We find in the text of the hymn Viśvāmitra mentioning the Bharatas and these Bharatas are therefore none other than Tṛtsus. Hence it is impossible to hold that RV. III. 33 shows us the Bharatas marching against the Tṛtsus from the land to the south of the Sutlej. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that after Sudās had conquered (may जंघन्त् in RV. III. 53. 11c be taken in the past tense as Sāyaṇa has done ?) “the east, the west and the north” (RV., III. 53. 11c), Viśvāmitra led him on to the south (the वर आ पृथिव्याः of III 53. 11d) where the called wealth of the niggardly non-Aryan Kīkaṣas was proverbial ?). The Bharatas are spoken of in RV., III. 33. 11 as ‘full of desire for cattle’ (=full of desire for conquest, गन्धन्) and not ‘full of ardour for battle’ as Dr. Das supposes. The Beas and the Sutlej must have fallen in their way as they were marching southwards from their older abode near the Ravi and Viśvāmitra helped them by his “prayers” to cross the streams. It is this which is described in III.33 with such dramatic vividness and Viśvāmitra probably refers to the self-same feat in III.539.

महाँ ऋषिर्देवजा देवजूतोऽस्तभ्रात्सिन्धुमर्णवं नृचक्षाः ।

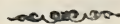
विश्वामित्रो यदवहत्सुदासमप्रिमायत कुशिकेभिरिन्द्रः ॥

which is thus translated by Griffith: ( “The mighty sage, God-born and God-incited, who looks on men, restrained the billowy river. When Viśvāmitra was Sudās’sescort, then Indra through the Kuśikas grew friendly.” This translation is fairly correct. The singular in सिन्धुम् ( river ) constitutes no difficulty for the same form is iused in III,33.3. सिन्धुम् in the passage under discussion ( iii, 539 ) means according to Sāyaṇa विपाट्छुतुद्योः सम्भेदम् ( ‘the

confluence of the Beas and Sutlej' mentioned in RV., III. 33 and Nirukta, ii.24 ). This proves beyond doubt that the Tr̥tsu chief Sudās was a Bharata and that no Bharata ever attacked him as Dr. Das supposes. That Viśvāmitra had no hand in the Dāśarājña battle as I shall show elsewhere—I have studied the whole question of King Sudās's relations with the Bharadvājas, the Vaisiṣṭhas and the Viśvāmitra.

Postscript.—If I have not already convinced Dr. Das about the identity of the Tr̥tsus with the Bharatas, I may quote Tāṇdyamahābrāhmaṇa, xv. 5.24 ऋषयो वा इन्द्रं प्रत्यक्षं नापश्यन् स वसिष्ठोऽकामयत् कथमिन्द्रं प्रत्यक्षं पश्येयमिति स एतन्निहवमपश्यत् ततो स इन्द्रं प्रत्यक्षम् अपश्यत् स एतमब्रवीद् ब्राह्मणन्ते वक्ष्यामि यथा त्वत्पुरोहिता भरताः प्रजनिष्यन्तेऽथ मा अन्येभ्य ऋषिभ्यो मा प्रवोच इति तस्मा एतान् स्तौम-भागानब्रवीत्ततो वसिष्ठपुरोहिता भरताः प्राजायन्त सेन्द्रं वा एतत्साम भवति सेन्द्रत्वाय ॥

This shows that the Yajamānas of the Vasiṣṭhas were Bharatas.





### II.3

## THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE R̥GVEDIC RIVER SARASVATI AND SOME CONNECTED PROBLEMS

सरस्वतीं नमस्कृत्य सरस्वती विचार्यते ।

सिन्धुनाम्ना प्रसिद्धा या मध्यदेशेऽपि या स्थिता ॥

प्रसङ्गेन श्रुतेरर्थान् अन्यानपि लिखाम्यहम् ।

महानन्दः परं ब्रह्म प्रीयतां मत्प्रचेष्टया ॥

### I

The R̥gveda abounds in geographical names. of them river-names are the most important. Their identification is greatly simplified by the fact that many of these names agree with those in classical literature or still in use. But are we justified in assuming that wherever a R̥gvedic name agrees with a later one, the object signified by the R̥gvedic name is identical with the object signified by the later name? The more scientific attitude for a student of the R̥gveda would be to test in each case if the R̥gvedic object can be the same as the later object having the same name. Whoever studies the Vedas closely, after casting off from his mind all orthodox bias, is constrained to admit that the R̥gvedic Aryans had recently come into India from outside and were still confined to the Punjab and that the later Vedic literature show the gradual extension of Aryan colonisation. Migrating people often carry old names and apply them to objects in their new locality. I might mention only New York, New South Wales and Cambridge (in Massachussets, U.S.A.). Such

phenomena must have occurred in India too; the names Uttarakośala and Kośala, Uttarakuru and Kuru, Uttaramadra and Madra establish the point. The only difference lies in the fact that in these instances the elder place has a qualifying adjunct ('Uttara,' etc.), whereas in the non-Indian names cited above it is the new place which generally carries a qualifying adjunct ('New,' etc.); but we know England was also characterised by Americans as 'Old England.' 'Cambridge' in England and 'Cambridge' in U.S.A. show that it is also possible to transfer an old name without adding an adjunct.<sup>1</sup>

It is thus that problems arise about the identification of R̥gvedic rivers which have names that are preserved in later literature. There is thus a great controversy over the identification of the R̥gvedic river Sārasvatī. Lassen and Max Müller<sup>2</sup> support its identification with the later Sarsuti which loses itself in the desert at Bhatnair. But almost all other German Vedic scholars have pronounced themselves in favour of identifying it with the Indus. At the head of all stands Roth, who in the St. Petersburg Dictionary. Vol. VII, p. 786, shows that in most passages of the R̥gveda and in some late

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1. Girivraja, the capital of Kekaya, lay in the Punjab in the time of the Rāmāyaṇa. Compare Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, Chapter 71, verses 1 and 2 (Nirnay Sagar edition) :  
 स प्राङ्मुखो राजगृहादभिनिर्याय वीर्यवान् । ततः सुदामां द्युतिमान् सन्तीयविश्व  
 तां नदीम् ॥ ह्लादिनीं दूरपारां च प्रत्यक्क्षोतस्तरङ्गिणीम् । शतद्रुमतरच्छीमान्  
 नदीमिक्ष्वाकुनन्दनः ॥ describing Bharata's return from the house  
 of his maternal uncle. But in later times we find a Girivraja in Bihar. I am indebted to my friend Professor Sudhāmśukumar Sen Gupta, M.A., of the Rangpur Carmichael College, for drawing my attention to this fact.

2. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. II., p. 435.



passages सरस्वती as a river means the Indus. Zimmer,<sup>3</sup> Grassmann,<sup>4</sup> Ludwig,<sup>5</sup> Weber,<sup>6</sup> Oldenberg,<sup>7</sup> Hillebrandt,<sup>8</sup> Kaegi,<sup>9</sup> and the English translator of the Vedas, Mr. Griffith,<sup>10</sup> have followed Roth. But Professor Macdonell,<sup>11</sup> who calls himself a pupil of Max Müller and his pupil Professor Keith<sup>12</sup> have refused to accept the Sárasvatī-Indus identification. I have restudied the question taking the help of these and other authorities and have come to the conclusion that "Sárasvatī" originally meant the Indus. I give below in detail my reasons for believing in this identification and therewith the solution of certain problems which it seems to afford.

According to Grassmann (Wörterbuch, column 1488), the word Sárasvatī occurs in the undermentioned passages of the R̥gveda :—

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3. Altindisches Leben, pp. 8-10-
  4. Wörterbuch zum Rigveda, column 1488, Rigveda-Uebersetzung, Vol. p. 373.
  5. Die Mantralitteratur und die alte Indien (Rigveda-Uebersetzung, Vol. III), pp. 201-202, Die Nachrichten des Rig und Atharvaveda über Geographie, Geschichte und Verfassung des alten Indien p. 13.
  6. History of Indian Literature, translated by Mann and Zachariae, p. 44 footnote.
  7. R̥gveda, textkritische und exegetische Noten II 63.
  8. Vedische Mythologie, I. 92 ff. and 115.
  9. Der Rigveda, 2 Aufl, p. 146, note 39 (English translation, p. 110)
  10. Hymns of the Rigveda, on R. V. VI. 61.2 &c.
  11. History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 142, Vedic Mythology, p. 87. Vedic Index, II, 435-437.
  12. Vedic Index, *loc. cit.*, Cambridge History of India, I. p. 80.

(A) As proper name for a river—the small stream in the Madhyadeśa—III. 23.4.

(B) As proper name for a river—the Indus—but venerated as a goddess. I. 164.49; II. 41.18; VI. 47.7; VI. 61.1-7, 10.11.14; VII. 95. 1.2.4-6; VII. 96. 1.3; IX. 67.32; X. 17.7.8; X. 30.12.

(C) As proper name for a river, invoked with other streams II. 32.8; V. 42.12; VI. 52.6; X. 64.9; X. 75.5; X. 184.2; Vāl. 6.4.

(D) As proper name for a river invoked along with other gods I. 89.3; II. 30.8; III. 53.13; V. 43.11; V. 46.2; VI. 50.12; VII. 9.5; VII. 35.11; VII. 36.6; VII. 39.5; VII. 40.3; VIII. 21.17.18; IX. 81. 4; X. 65. 1,13; X. 131.5; X. 141.5.

(E) As the presiding goddess of 'devotion' I. 3.10-12.

(F) As the presiding goddess of 'devotion' praised in conjunction with Īdā and Bhāratī or Īdā and Mahī or Hotrā Bhāratī, Īdā and Mahī, or Hotrā, Bhāratī and Īdā, I. 188.8; II. 3.8; III. 4.8; IX. 5.8; X. 110.8—I. 13.9; V. 5.8—I. 142.9—II. 1.11.

(G) Also as a male counterpart (Śārasvant) in I. 164.52; VII. 96. 4-6 and X. 66.5. (To these should be added VII. 95.3 which according to the Anukramanikā refers to Śārasvant.)

I shall discuss some of these passages and show that many of them warrant us in accepting the identification with the Indus.

(A) Under this section Grassmann cites only one passage, which he thinks refers to the river in the Madhyadeśa. Roth<sup>13</sup> too is of the same opinion. They

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13. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, article on सरस्वती, section (c).



are probably right. The passage is नि त्वा दधे वरु आ पृथिव्या  
इलायास्पदे सुदिनत्वे अह्नाम् । दुषद्वेत्यां मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदग्ने  
दिदीहि ॥ Here two Bharata princes Devaśravas and  
Devavāta are asking Agni to shine bountifully on the  
Dṛśādvatī, Āpayā and Śārasvatī. The Śārasvatī thus  
becomes contiguous to the Dṛśādvatī and the Āpayā  
and Professors Macdonell and Keith are certainly justi-  
fied in taking the Śārasvatī of this passage to be the  
modern Sarsuti. I shall return to this verse after I  
have discussed the other passages.

(B) Passing on to the next section, we get three  
passages (I. 164.49, IX. 67.32 and X. 17 7-9) which are  
not precise : any river can be understood as referred to.  
In X. 30.12 आपो रेवतीः क्षयथा हि वस्वः क्रतुं च भद्रं विभृथामृतं च । रायश्च  
स्य स्वपुत्रस्य पत्नीः सरस्वती तद्गृणते वयो धातु ॥," too there is nothing  
which makes us decide for the Indus or the Sarsuti. The  
whole hymn is in praise of the waters ("आपम् अपोनप्तीयं वा"  
in the Anukramanī). No particular river is referred to  
in any other verse of the hymn and the 'streams' (सिन्धवः)  
or the 'waters' (आपः) are referred to in general terms. It  
is therefore possible that the सरस्वती in the twelfth verse  
is little more than the presiding goddess of rivers. The  
verse may be translated line by line as—

O bounteous waters wealth do you possess,  
Good knowledge have you and immortality,  
Mistress are you of prosperity with good sons;  
Hence may Śārasvatī give sustenance to her singer.

The waters are invoked in the first three lines and the  
poet passes on to Śārasvatī in the fourth in a tone which  
shows that he has not begun a different theme. If we  
take Śārasvatī to be the same deity as the waters in the  
first three lines the abruptness of the fourth line is taken

away. Taking सरस्वती here simply as a personification of rivers is not difficult in view of the fact that the Nighaṇṭu (I. 13) puts down सरस्वत्यः among the synonyms for 'river.'

In R. V. II. 41, verses 17 and 18 are not precise but verse 16 अम्बितमे नदीतमे देवितमे सरस्वति । अमुस्तु इव स्मसि प्रशस्तिम्ब नः कृधि ।" clearly indicates Sārasvatī to be a big river which can be called a 'river of rivers' and a 'mother of mothers' and which can make poor Gṛtsamadas prosperous. Roth therefore cites this passage in support of his view that the Sārasvatī originally meant the Indus. We next come to VI. 49. 7 : पावीरवी कन्या चित्रायुः सरस्वती वीरपत्नी धियं धात् । ग्नाभिरच्छिद्रं शरणं सुजोषा दुराधर्षं गृणते शर्मं यंसत् ॥, where there are clear indications of the river Indus. The Sārasvatī has been here called वीरपत्नी and ग्नाभिः सुजोषाः. Griffith is inclined to take वीरपत्नी to mean the wife of Sārasvant. He may be right though of course, that is not certain. What the "सरस्वात्" is will be discussed later on. The word ग्ना is listed in the Nighaṇṭu (I. 11) among the synonyms for वाच् but is also in the द्विश उत्तराणि नामानि list beginning with प्रवृत्तिरे अमीके, etc. (Nigh. III. 29), by the side of मेना. Yāska (Nir. III, 21.2) explains मेना and ग्ना as meaning 'woman.' While commenting on the last Nighaṇṭu word देवपत्न्यः, he quotes (Nir. XII. 46) R. V. V. 46.8 where the word ग्नाः occurs; though he does not explain the word, his commentator does and he give स्त्रियः as the equivalent. But in the concluding section of the Tenth Chapter of the Nirukta, Yāska renders ग्नाः by "(गमनात्) आपः", while commenting on R. V. X. 95.7, Griffith translates the expression ग्नाभिः सुजोषाः in the passage under discussion (R. V. VI. 42.7) by 'with the Dames concordant', Grassmann by 'combined with the wives' and Ludwig by 'with the gnās (women) concordant.' Now ग्नाभिः सुजोषाः obviously refers to सरस्वती in the first line



though सजोषाः has been rendered by Sāyaṇa according to the Bombay text,<sup>14</sup> by सह प्रीयमाणाः and not by the singular सह प्रीयमाणा. Would I be far wrong in seeing in these *gnās*, with whom the Sārasvatī is associated, a reference to the five rivers of the Punjab and other tributaries of the Indus? This case by itself may prove nothing but I shall show below other similar expressions which would go a far way towards supporting my identification of the Sārasvatī of this passage with the Indus.

Let me now take up the several reference to the Sārasvatī in R. V. VI. 61, a hymn addressed to सरस्वती. First comes up इयं शुष्मेभिविसुखा इवारुजुत्सानुं गिरीणां तत्रिषेभिरुमिभिः । पारावत्तन्नीमवसे सुवृत्तिभिः । सरस्वतीमा विवासेव धीतिभिः ॥ VI. 61. 2. In the first and second lines the Sārasvatī is said to loosen with her dashing waves rocks from the sides of mountains as easily as one might dig up lotus roots. Now, I ask in all earnestness, can this definition apply to the Sarsuti which is not a mountainous river? The Sarsuti is essentially a river of the plains. But the Indus on the other hand winds its way through mountains for several hundreds of miles and does not leave its mountainous character even after it passes Attock. "The Indus is about 1,800 miles in total length and is more of a mountain-bred river than the Ganges. Even after it has left the Himalayas and wound its course across the Eastern Peshāwar plain to Attock (where it is spanned by the railway bridge of the N. W. Ry. system) it has

14. The text is probably corrupt here. In any case सजोषाः cannot be in the plural for its verb वृत् is in the singular. सजोषस् is the stem (cf. R. V. X. 110. 3 and Nir. VIII. 8 on this verse) and सजोषाः is its regular form in masculine or feminine nominative singular.

not lost its characteristic of a gorge-enclosed river. It swirls down through deep rifts and clefts below Attock, parting the rugged spurs of the Punjab Salt Ranges are it emerges into an open network of channels near the salt-built town of Kālābāgh, at least 200 miles from its Himalayan gates, and long after it has received its frontier affluents, the Kābul and Kohāt rivers.”<sup>15</sup>

The meaning of पाराव्रतनीम् in the third line need not detain us here for I shall have to discuss it later on. The reference to the unending length and the roaring torrent of the river in the 8th verse : यस्या अनुन्तो अह्वतस्त्वे-षश्चरिण्णुरणवः । अमृश्चरति रोहवत् ॥ clearly supports its identification with the Indus. Of the same purpose is the fact that the Sārasvatī has been called in verse 10 सुप्तस्वसा and in 12 सुप्तधातुः.<sup>16</sup> These Seven sisters are clearly the seven tributaries of the Indus which gave to the Panjab in Vedic times the name of सुप्त सिन्धवः and in the language of ancient Iran ‘Hapta Hindu’ (cf. Vendidad I. 19). In verse 12, त्रिषुधस्था सुप्तधातुः पञ्च जाता वर्धयन्ती । वाजेवाजे हव्या भूत् ॥, the Sārasvatī has been called ‘residing in three regions.’ This probably means that it flows through heaven, earth and the middle region. It is difficult to see how a tiny stream like the Sarsuti can be given this proud title. But त्रिषुधस्था is easily intelligible in the case of the Indus whose origin is in regions where no man (=Āryans) has penetrated, which has run through mountains for hundreds of miles and then taken a level course. It is also on the banks of such a lengthy river that the five tribes(पञ्च जाता) could reside.

14. Imperial Gazetteer of India, New Series, Vol. I, p. 29. See Encycloædia Britannica, 11th edition, Vol. XIV, pp. 507-8.

15. Griffith translates सुप्तधातुः by ‘seven sistered’ and Grassmann and Sāyaṇa by ‘seven membered.’



Further, verse 9, सा नो विश्वा अति दिवः स्वसृ'रन्या ऋतावरी । अतुन्नहेव सूर्यः ॥, where the Sārasvati is asked to make 'us' (the Aryans) overcome the enemies and cross the other sisters (clearly, as Sāyaṇa also understands, the seven rivers), as the sun by his movement makes people go over the days, clearly shows that (1) the Sārasvati of the passage is the Indus and (2) that it gave the Aryans an approach to the Punjab. It is the Sārasvati that the Aryans reached first when coming from the north or north east of the Pamir and naturally the poet says in verse 3 of the hymn, सरस्वति देवनिदो नि बर्ह्य प्रजां विश्वस्य वृष्यस्य मायिनः । उत क्षितिभ्योऽवनीरविन्दो विषमेभ्यो अलवो वाजिनीवति ॥ Sāyaṇa thus explains the third and fourth lines: “उत अपिच हे वाजिनीवति अन्नवति सरस्वति त्वं क्षितिभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यः अवनीः असुरैरपहृता भूमीः अविन्दः अलम्भयः । एभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यः विषमुदकं च अलवः अक्षारयः । यद्वा क्षितयोऽभुरजनाः तेष्वः सकाशात् अवनी भूमी अविन्दो लब्धवान् (?) असि । तान् हत्वा एभ्यश्चामुरेभ्यो विषं मृतिहेतुभूतं गरलम् अलवः ।” Griffith translates, “Thou hast discovered rivers for the tribes of men, and, rich in wealth! made poison flow away from them,” Grassmann, “To the tribes hast thou brought near the streams, nevertheless a poison hast thou poured to those, O dispenser,” Ludwig, “To the peoples hast thou found the rivers, that poison hast thou allowed to flow over to them, O mistress of mares,” Hillebrandt,<sup>16</sup> “The streams hast thou bestowed for our settlements (क्षितिभ्यः ?) and poison to flow to those, O thou rich in mares,” Langlois<sup>17</sup>, “O goddess, surrounded with offerings, thou hast found the means of healing men. To our enemies thou has poured forth poison.” क्षितयः is given in the Nighaṇṭu (II. 3) as synonym for मनुष्याः,

16. *Lieder des Rigveda*, Göttingen 1913, p. 79.

17. *Rig Veda*, traduit par A. Langlois, Paris 1870. I owe the English rendering to my friend Professor Priyaranjan Sen, M.A., Kāvyatīrtha.

अवतिः in the singular in Ngh. I. I as a synonym for पृथिवी and अवनयः in the plural in I. 13 for नदी. उत क्षितिभ्योऽवनीरविन्दः may therefore be translated as "and you found the tribes rivers (by which to live)." क्षितिभ्यः should not be translated, as Hillebrandt has done, by 'for our settlements.' The plural is against him. त्रिषमैभ्यो अस्रवः is not so easy. Langlois understands एभ्यः to refer to the enemies and that is also Sāyaṇa's second interpretation; according to Sāyaṇa's first interpretation it refers to the very people for whom the rivers have been found. त्रिषम् Sāyaṇa first paraphrases by 'water' (Nighaṇṭu I. 12. 15, see R. V. X. 136. 1a and Yāska's Nirukta XII. 26 on it) and gives it the meaning of 'poison' only as an alternative explanation. We can thus have three translations for त्रिषमैभ्यो अस्रवः—(1) 'but you made poison flow to the enemies or the demons,' (2) 'and you made poison<sup>18</sup> flow from off<sup>29</sup> these peoples' and (3) 'and you made water flow for these peoples.' All these meanings are possible but (3) which is Sāyaṇa's first interpretation seems to be best suited to the context. After all these details of interpretation it is now quite plain that Sārasvatī gave the Āryans an approach to the waters or the lands (according to Sāyaṇa)

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18. The poison must be that of heat. If the second interpretation is accepted, we should search for the route (or one route) of Aryan migration through some dry or unhealthy regions. The path taken by Fâ-Hien would answer to this description. He actually mentions venomous dragons. See "The Travels of Fâ-Hien" translated by Legge, Oxford 1886, p. 24., Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, London, 1884, Introduction, p. xxix.

19. एभ्यः should in this case be understood as in the fifth case ending.



of the Punjab.<sup>3</sup> We cannot therefore be wrong in indentifying it with the Indus. That my readers may see the bearing of my remarks, I shall conclude by quoting the hymn in full:

इयमददाद्रभसमृणच्युतं दिवोदासं वध्राशवाय दाशुषे ।  
या शश्वत्तमाचुखादावसं पुणि ता ते दात्राणि तविषा सरस्वति ॥१॥  
इयं शुभेभिर्विसखा इवारुज्जसानुं गिरीणां तविषेभिर्भूमिभिः ।  
पारावतुधनीमवसे सुवृक्तिभिः सरस्वतीमा विवासेम धीतिभिः ॥२॥  
सरस्वति देवनिदो नि बर्हय प्रजां विश्वस्य वृषयस्य मायिनः ।  
उत क्षितिभ्योऽवनीरविन्दो विषमेभ्यो अन्नवो वाजिनीवति ॥३॥  
प्र णो देवी सरस्वती वाजेभिर्वाजिनीवती । धोनामवित्यवतु ॥४॥  
यस्त्वा देवि सरस्वत्युपब्रूते धने हिते । इन्द्रं न वृत्रतूर्ये ॥५॥  
त्वं देवि सरस्वत्यवा वाजेषु वाजिनि । रदा पुषेव नः सनिम् ॥६॥  
उत स्या नः सरस्वती घोरा हिरण्यवर्तनिः । वृत्रघ्नी वष्टि सुष्टुतिम् ॥७॥  
यस्या अनुतो अहनुतस्त्वेपश्चरिष्णुरणवः । अमश्चरति रोहवत् ॥८॥  
सा नो विश्वा अति द्विषुः स्वसूरन्या ऋतावरी । अतन्नहेव सूर्यः ॥९॥  
उत नः प्रिया प्रियासु सप्तस्वसा सुजुष्टा । सरस्वती स्तोम्या भूत् ॥१०॥  
आपप्रुषी पार्थिवान्पुरु रजो अन्तरिक्षम् । सरस्वती निदस्पातु ॥११॥  
त्रिषधस्या सप्तधातुः पञ्च जाता वर्धयन्ती । वाजेवाजे हव्या भूत् ॥१२॥  
प्र या महिष्ठा महिनासु चेकिते ब्रुम्नेभिरन्य अपसामपस्तमा ॥  
रथ इव वृहती विभवने कृतोपस्तुत्या चिकितुषा सरस्वती ॥१३॥  
सरस्वत्यभि नो नेपि वस्यो मापस्करीः पयसा मा न आ धक् ।  
जुपस्व नः सुख्या वेश्या न मा त्वत्क्षेत्राण्यरणानि गन्म ॥१४॥

I may now pass on to R. V. VII. 95, another hymn addressed to Sarasvatī. I have discussed this hymn in

20. This is not the place to prove that the Āryas came from outside India. I may attempt this elsewhere. Apart from philological arguments, Vedic texts can be adduced which do suggest recent advent of the Aryans into this land.

the Calcutta Review for May, 1922, pp. 318-331, but I shall do this once again. I begin by quoting the hymn in full:

प्र क्षोदसा घायसा सस्र एषा सरस्वती धरुणमायसी पृः ।  
 प्रबाधधाना रुध्येव याति विश्वा अपो मंहिता सिन्धुरन्याः ॥१॥  
 एका चेतसरस्वती नदीनां शुचिर्यती गिरिम्य आ समुद्रात् ।  
 रायश्चेतन्ती भुवनस्य भूरेर्धृतं पयो दुदुहे नाहुपाय ॥२॥  
 स बावृधे नयो योषणासु वृषा शिशुर्वृषभो यजियासु ।  
 स वाजितं मघवद्भयो दधाति वि सातये तन्व मातृजीत ॥३॥  
 उत स्या नः सरस्वती जुषाणोप श्रवत्सुभगा यजे अस्मिन् ।  
 मित्तनुभिर्नमस्यैरियाता राया युजा चिदुत्तरा सविभ्यः ॥४॥  
 इमा जुह्वाना युष्मदा नमोभिः प्रति स्तोमं सरस्वति जुषस्व ।  
 तव शर्मन् प्रियतमे दधाना उप स्थेयाम शरणं न वृक्षम् ॥५॥  
 अयमु ते सरस्वति वसिष्ठो द्वावावृतस्य सुभगे व्यावः ।  
 वर्ध शुभ्रे स्तुवूते रासि वाजान्यूनं पात स्वस्तिभिः सदा नः ॥६॥

From the very first verse, we find clear indications of the river Indus. विश्वा अन्या अपः प्रबाधधाना याति means “(the Sārasvatī) goes pushing amain all the other streams.” This is quite correct of the Indus which meets several tributaries and instead of swerving its own course carries down their waters with her own and the poet naturally conceives सरस्वती as going विश्वा अन्या अपः प्रबाधधाना. प्रबाधधाना = प्रबाधमाना (Sāyana) and it can never mean “outstripping” as supposed by Dr. Abnaschandra Das (Rigvedic India, Vol. I, p. 72). In the second verse the Sārasvatī is said to go from the hills to the sea. This description would apply better to the Indus. The Sarsuti may have reached the Arabian Sea<sup>21</sup> by joining the Indus somewhere below

21. The Rajputana Sea is impossible. The R̥gveda shows the civilisation of the late Iron Age, long before which the Rajputana Sea dried up.



Sukkur or the Rann of Cutch, either direct or through the old bed of the Indus<sup>22</sup> as beds of the Sarsuti and the Ghaggar seem to indicate; and the Sarsuti does rise from the Siwalik Hills (which are not very high) but it very soon reaches the plains. The Indus on the other hand rises from the Himalayas, rushes through mountains for hundreds of miles and reaches the Sea directly. Roth therefore cites R. V. VII. 95. 2 in support of his *Sārasvatī-Indus-identification*; but it must be admitted that the description here may hold good for the Sarsuti too, only the Indus suiting it *better*. In the last line of the second verse, the *Sārasvatī* is said to have supplied ghee and water (or ghee like water) to *Nāhuṣa*. There is a good deal of controversy over the meaning of 'Nahuṣ' or 'Nahuṣa' or 'the *Nāhuṣas*,'<sup>23</sup> but Nahuṣ or Nahuṣa was probably a man (a chief) and the *Nāhuṣas* may have been his descendants. In R. V. VIII. 6.24 *इन्द्र त्वद्वाण्वंश्च यद्विन्द्रं नाहुंषीष्वा । अग्ने' विष्णु प्रदीदयत् ॥*, Indra is invoked by Vatsa Kaṇva to bestow on him (or, may be, on his patron Tirindira *Pāraśavya*) 'that troop of fleet horses which in the primary days the *Nāhuṣa* subjects could boast of.' Now if Nahuṣa or the *Nāhuṣas* are placed somewhere on the banks of the Indus, their fleet horses can be very well understood and that alone might confirm the identification of the *Sārasvatī* with the Indus on the basis of

22. See Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. I, p. :0, Vol. XII, pp. 212-213; Holditch, *Gates of India*, pp. 27, 144; Oldham, *J.R.A.S.* XXV. 49-76; Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, maps 2, 3, 4, and the coloured folding map there and Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, map; also map accompanying Raverty's paper "The Mihrán of Sind and its Tributaries," in *J.A.S.B.*, 1892.

23. See Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, pp. 438-38.

VII. 95.2 “एकां चेतुस्सरस्वतीं नदीनां शुचिर्घृती गिरिभ्य आ समुद्रात् । राय-  
श्चेतन्ती भुवनस्य भूरेर्घृतं पयो दुदुहे नाहुंषाय ॥.” The Brhad-devatā  
(ed. Macdonell) VI. 19-24 gives the story of king Nāhuṣa,  
who wishing to perform a thousand years’ sacrifice approa-  
ched several rivers with the request of carrying away his  
offered oblation but as they refused on the plea of being  
*alpavīrya* and as they so advised him, he came to the  
Sārasvatī and had his prayer granted.

Verse 3 of R. V. VII. 95 clearly supports the Sārasvatī-  
Indus-identification. Its ‘deity’ is according to the Anu-  
kramaṇikā, Sārasvant and the Anukramaṇikā is right, for  
in the following hymn Sārasvant is invoked by name in  
verses 4-6 after Sārasvatī’s praise in verses 1-3 Sārasvant  
is according to the compiler or compilers of the Nighaṇṭu  
a god of ‘the middle region’ and Sāyaṇa positively identi-  
fies him with Vāyu though Yāska says nothing explicit  
on the point. But we need listen to none of them.<sup>24</sup> If  
सरस्वान् is classed with वृत्रः and other gods of the middle  
region, सरस्वती too is so classed. As सरस्वती in VII. 95 and  
VII. 96 is a river and not a मध्यमस्थानदेवता, सरस्वान् too of the  
same hymns should not belong to the ‘middle region.’  
Who then is he? Obviously he is somebody closely  
connected with the Sārasvatī. The first and second lines  
of verse 3 may be translated thus,—“That hero, (who  
was before) a child increased and (became) a bull, able  
to saturate, when the sacrificial damsels (each)ed him.”  
This Sārasvant is quite clearly the lower part of the river  
Sārasvatī (=the Indus) after the Kubhā (with the Suvāstu),  
Krumu and other tributaries of the Indus had joined her—  
“He who was a child before has become a potent bull  
now” can only mean “the stream which was narrow before

24. Sārasvant in I, 164.52 is clearly a मध्यमस्थानदेवता.



has now become broad.” “Now”=“after the ‘sacrificial damsels’ (=the holy rivers), had reached him.” This clearly means that the Indus became very broad after the Kabul and Punjab rivers reached it. I cannot understand how any other interpretation can be put on the passage. Sarsuti does not now, and did not as certainly in the past, receive a number of tributaries which could swell its stream. I am giving below Sāyaṇa’s comments on the passage and it will be seen that I am partly supported by him. He writes,

स मध्यमस्थानो वायुः सरस्वान् नर्यो नरेभ्यो हितः (Sā. renders नर्यः by ‘beneficial’--‘manly’ would be better) योषणासु यतः<sup>25</sup> वृषा सेचन-समर्थः शिशुः अल्पः प्रादुर्भावसमये अल्पतया दृश्यमानः वृषमी वषिता (here Sāyaṇa has failed or omitted to bring out the contrast between शिशु and वृषभ) एवंभूत सरस्वान् यज्ञियासु यज्ञार्हासु योषणासु आत्मनः कलत्रभूतासु मध्यमस्थानास्वप्सु (clearly=नदीषु, Sāyaṇa’s addition of मध्यमस्थानासु is altogether gratuitous) मध्ये (why not make भावे सतमी—तासु आगतासु मिलितासु ?) ववृधे वधते ॥

Sārasvatī according to the Nighaṇṭu (I. 13) means simply a river, a नदी. Sārasvant should then mean a नद and Amara in the Nānārthavarga of the Third Kāṇḍa of his Nāmaliṅga gives it the meanings of नद and अर्णव. If the Sārasvant of VII. 95.3 is the part of the Indus from where Kubhā, Krumu and Gomatī join her, we may well understand the later designation of the Indus as a नद. An additional support for my supposition that the Sārasvant in VII. 95.3 (and VII. 96. 4-6) meant the lower part of the Indus (below Dera Ismail Khan) may be found in

25. योषणासु यतः is omitted by Peterson (Second Lection of Hymns from the Rigveda<sup>2</sup>, p. 255) and Vijapurkar, and in Max Müller’s text. I have given the reading of the Bombay text, published by Tukaram Tatya.

VII. 95.3, स वाजिनं मुषवद्भ्यो दधाति, which may be translated as 'he gives to the rich sacrificers *horses*.' That वाजिन् can mean a horse is born out by the Nighaṇṭu I. 14 and R. V. I. 116.6, I. 168.81 and 88. I. 163.5, IV. 40.4, etc, etc. We may see here a reference to the famous horses of the Indus valley, the 'saindhavas' of later literature.

To support my personal for taking the Śārasvati to be a portion of the Śārasvatī (=the Indus), I may cite similar customs still ruling in the Punjab, *e.g.*, one main branch of the Candrabhāgā at its head-waters is called Candra and the other Bhāgā, one main feeder of the Tungabhadra river is Tunga and the other Bhadrā, one part of the valley along the Maruwardan (=R̥gvedic मरुद्वृषा according to Stein) is called Maru and another Wārdman.<sup>26</sup>

To continue with R. V. VII. 95, the fourth verse (last quarter) calls Śārasvatī उत्तरा सखिभ्यः (surpassing her 'associates'). The associates are probably the tributaries (the "seven sisters" of R. V. VI. 61.10) and the Indus certainly surpasses them all by her length, majesty and importance and on account of her receiving the waters of those streams. Verse 5 and 6 contain no precise information this way or that way.

In the following hymn (VII. 96) the Śārasvatī has been called (in the first verse) 'the mighty among rivers' (असुर्या नदीनाम्—Sāyaṇa : नदीनां मध्ये असुर्या असुरशब्दाच्चतुर्थ्यैकवचनस्य<sup>27</sup> उच्चादेशः

26. See Sir M. A. Stein's paper 'River-names in the R̥gveda' in the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 24.

27. Grassmann (Wörterbuch z. R., 157) takes असुर्या to be in the nominative but he proposes (Wörterbuch, 157 and Übersetzung I, 584) the emendation असुर्याम्. He also wants to alter रोदसी in the last quarter to रोदसी. But I dare not support such bold emendations.



असुरायै बलवत्यै सरस्वत्यै अस्याः प्रीणनार्थमित्यर्थः and surely the Indus is the mightiest of the Punjab rivers. I shall discuss below VII. 96.2, where the Pūrus are said to dwell on both the banks of the Sārasvatī. I may now pass on to the next section—

(C) For the Sārasvatī as a river goddess invoked along with other streams, Grassmann cites II. 32. 8, V. 42.12, VI. 52.6, X. 64.9, X. 75.5, X. 184.2, Vāl. 6.4. R. V. II. 32.8 gives no precise data; nor also V. 42.12, unless we should find in बृहद्वा, obviously an adjective of सरस्वती, an indication of the mighty character of the river which would be more intelligible in the case of the Indus. In R. V. VI. 52.6, the Sārasvatī has been called 'swelling with the rivers' (सरस्वती सिन्धुभिः पिबमाना) and that clearly makes it the Indus. Sāyaṇa's rendering सिन्धुभिः स्यन्दनेरुदकैः is altogether unwarranted. The word सिन्धु is not in the Nighaṇṭu list of synonyms for उदक.<sup>28</sup> Sāyaṇa has himself rendered सिन्धवः पिबमानाः in the verse preceding the previous one (VI. 52.4b) by वर्धमानाः स्यन्दनशीला नद्यः. The Indus certainly does swell when she receives the waters of the Kubhā, the Gomatī and the Punjab rivers. Vālakhilya VI. 4 reads पुषा विष्णुर्हवन् मे सरस्वत्यवन्तु सुप्तसिन्धवः । आपो वातः पर्वतासो वनस्पतिः शृणोतुं पृथिवी हवम् ॥. If I am allowed to base any arguments on a Vālakhilya passage, I may claim some support for my identification from this verse. Sārasvatī is invoked here and then the Seven Rivers

28. In Nir. X. 5, Yāska quotes R. V. VIII. 41.2, तम् पु समुना गिरा पितुणां च मन्त्रभिः । नाभाकस्य प्रशस्तिभिर्यः सिन्धू नामुपीद्वये सुप्तस्वप्ता स मध्यमो नभन्तामन्यके समे ॥ and renders सिन्धू नाम् by स्यन्दमानानामा-सामपाम् which must mean 'of the river' for that meaning alone can suit the context and Sayana too paraphrases सिन्धू नाम् here by स्यन्दमानानां नदीनाम्.

and then the waters. *Sārasvatī* is therefore distinguished from the seven streams and is given a more important position. It becomes probable therefore that the more important सरस्वती of the passage is the Indus and the less important सप्त सिन्धवः the Seven Rivers which carry their waters to the Indus.

But when we come to the passages from the Tenth Maṇḍala, the *Sārasvatī*-Indus-identification can no longer be supported. In X. 64.9 the *Sārasvatī* is invoked along with the *Sīndhu* and the *Sarāyu* and must therefore be the later *Sarsuti*. In the famous verse X. 75.5, इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता पशुण्य । असिन्ध्या मरुद्वृषे दितस्तुयार्जिकोये शृणुह्या सुषोमया ॥" too the *Sārasvatī* is the *Sarsuti* for the rivers mentioned here are in due order, from east to west and the *Sārasvatī* comes after *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā* and before *Śutudrī*. In X. 184.2, there is no precise datum but as the hymn to which it belong is very late, being in the Epic *Anuṣṭubh* metre and belonging to what Arnold, following Bloomfield, calls the period of Popular *Rgveda*—we cannot doubt its reference to the *Sarsuti*.

(D) Under this section (*Sārasvatī* invoked with other gods), Grassmann cites 18 verses of 16 hymns. In few of them are there precise data. I shall therefore notice only those passages from which we may learn something. In II. 30.8, सरस्वती has been called मरुत्वती and वृषती which adjectives may apply better to the Indus (*of.* VI. 61.5). In V. 3.11, the sacred *Sārasvatī* is invoked to come to 'our' sacrifice from the heaven, from the great mountain. (आ नो दिवो बृहत् पर्वतादा सरस्वती यजता गन्तु यजम्). The *Sarsuti*, which rises from the Siwalik ranges would not be this *Sārasvatī*. The Indus rising from the glaciers of the *Himālayas* outside India would naturally be asked by the Vedic poets to come from the heaven. In VII. 36.6b



the सरस्वती has been called सप्तथी सिन्धुमाता. सप्तथी obviously means 'the seventh' (=सप्तमी). Sāyaṇa takes सिन्धुमाता as सिन्धुरेव माता and Grassmann (Wörterbuch, 1520) as सिन्धूनां माता but they are both wrong for the word is a Bahuvrīhi compound having the accent in the first member and on the usual syllable. सिन्धुमाता must therefore mean 'one who has *sīndhus* (river) as her mother,' i.e., 'one who is nourished and increased by other rivers.' The Śārasvatī has been called सप्तस्वसा in VI. 61.10; it was therefore the eighth. Consequently सप्तथी सिन्धुमाता here must be a loose expression for सप्तसिन्धुमाता ('having seven tributaries'). This passage may be thus considered to support the identification of the Śārasvatī with the Indus. VII.39.5<sup>d</sup> "सरस्वती मूर्ततो मादयन्ताम् is to be put on a par with II. 30.8. In VIII. 21.17, 18 (Saubhari Kaṇva's *dānastuti* of Cītra), there are no precise data, but the Bṛhaddevatā (VI. 58-62) would place the scene of action alluded to here in Kurukṣetra and the Śārasvatī would then become the Sarsuti but the identification is as uncertain as the worth of the absurd story told by Śaunaka.

(E) Passing on to the next section (Śārasvatī as the presiding goddess of the sacrifice), we find only one passage cited, viz., I. 3. 10-12. By the nature of the case we cannot find here any characteristics of either river. Still महो अण् सरस्वती प्र चेतयति केतुना in I. 3.12 does lend some support to the Śārasvatī-Indus-identification. In the following section (F) (Śārasvatī as the goddess of the sacrifice, invoked in conjunction with Idā, Mahī, etc.), Grassmann cites several passages but none of them give the characteristics of the Indus or the Sarsuti.

(G) I have now finished Śārasvatī. Śārasvant in VII. 95.2 is, as I have shown above, the lower part of the Indus. R.V. VII. 96.5 "ये ते सरस्व ऊर्मयो मधुमन्तो घृतश्चतुः ।

तेभिर्नोऽविता भव ॥” and VII. 96.6 “पीपिवांसुं सरस्वतुः स्तनं यो  
 वृष्वदर्शतः । भक्षोमहि प्रजामिवम् ॥” clearly indicate that Sáras-  
 vant is a river and it must be the lower part of the  
 Indus on the analogy of VII. 95.3. But the Sárasvant  
 in I. 164.52 is obviously a ‘god of the middle region’  
 (=Āpām Napāt). R.V. X. 66.5 tells us nothing.

I have discussed all the passages in the R̥gveda  
 containing precise data about the river Sárasvatī and  
 have shown that the majority of them support is iden-  
 tification with the Indus. I have still to bring forward  
 some more corroboratory evidence and to answer objec-  
 tions against the Sárasvatī-Indus-identification.

The word सरस्वती must have originally meant simply  
 ‘a river’ (Nighaṇṭu I. 13.30) and the name may have  
 been subsequently specialised for a particular river—the  
 river *par excellence*. The same thing may be said of  
 the word सिन्धु. It may be well assumed that the R̥gvedic  
 Aryans were thoroughly acquainted with the Indus and  
 one would expect of find in the R̥gveda frequent mention  
 and praise of this mighty river. But we find no such  
 thing, if “सिन्धु” alone represents the Indus. सिन्धु in the  
 R̥gveda is a common name for rivers, excepting only a  
 few passages. Had the seers very few words to say about  
 the Indus when they were so very eloquent over a much  
 less important stream at the other end of the Punjab  
 which carried its waters to that Indus? Professors Mac-  
 donell and Keith ought to have pondered over this point  
 before rejecting the Sárasvatī-Indus-identification.

As in the case of सरस्वती, I shall cite and discuss the  
 passages which contain the word सिन्धु as a proper name.  
 Grassmann in his Wörterbuch (columns 1519-1520) gives  
 a variety of meanings to the word *sindhu* and gives



complete reference to the passages that illustrate them. But for *sīndhu* as a proper name for the river Indus, mentioned as simply a river or praised as a goddess, he has been able to cite only seven hymns : R.V. I. 122.6, III. 33.3, 5, V. 53.9, VIII. 20.25, VIII. 26.18, X. 64.9 and X. 75.3, 7, 8, 9. But of them the first three do not refer to the Indus. R.V. I. 122.6 is श्रुतं मे मित्रावरुणा हविषोत श्रुतं सदेने विश्वतः सीम् । श्रोतुं नः श्रोतुरातिः सुश्रोतुः सुक्षेत्रा सिन्धुर्दधिः ॥ This verse belongs to a Vaiśvadeva hymn. Here सिन्धुः seems to be simply the presiding goddess of rivers. Sāyaṇa is wrong in taking the word to be in the masculine—“जलाभिमानो देवः”—for it has a feminine adjective (सुक्षेत्रा). This goddess gets the adjective सुक्षेत्रा because all rivers make lands good for cultivation. Sāyaṇa takes सुक्षेत्रा to be in the accusative (=सुक्षेत्राणि) and he makes it the object of क्लेद्यन् (‘saturating the good fields’) which he supplies. But the text as we have it does not stand in need of such assumptions and सुक्षेत्रा as a feminine adjective makes better sense.<sup>29</sup> The word may have been

29. The accent in the second member ought not to create any difficulty. Bahuvrīhis with *su* as the first member often accent the second member on the final syllable (Pāṇini VI. 2-172), whereas we have here accent on the first syllable of the second member. But Bahuvrīhis with *su* which accent the usual syllable of the second member are not rare. Thus Macdonell in his Vedic Grammar (Strassburg, 1910), § 90. B d (p. 93) writes, “Possessives beginning with *su* ‘well’ regularly accent the second member, usually on the original syllable; e g. .... *su-bhāga* ‘well-endowed.’” Wackernagel in his Altindische Grammatik (Vol. II, part I, Göttingen 1905, p. 294) cites *su-āśva*, *su-hāsta*, *su-sēna*, *su-sīṅga*. The list may be considerably added to: but I may mention only *su-gābhastī* in R. V. V. 43-4 and VI. 49-9 and *su-tāra* in VI, 60-11, VII. 97-8 and X. 167-6.

brought in simply for filling up the line and for alliteration with सुश्रोतुः. Coming to R. V. III. 33. 3, 5 : अच्छा सिन्धुं मातृतमामयासुं विपाशसुवीसुभगामगम् । वृत्समिव मातरां संरिहाणे संमानं योनिमतुं सुचरन्ती ॥३॥ रमध्वं मे वचसे सोम्याय ऋतावरीरुपं मुहूर्तमेवैः । प्र सिन्धुमच्छा बृहती मन्तीषावस्युरह्वे कुशिकस्य सूनुः ॥५॥, we find that *sindhu* simply means 'a river.' This hymn, as is well known, contains a dialogue between the two rivers Vipāś and Śutudrī and Viśvāmitra who wishes to cross them with the Bharatas. The सिन्धुम् in verse 3 obviously refers to the Śutudrī (which is not mentioned by name in 3 a, whereas Vipāś is so mentioned in 3 b). The सिन्धुम् in verse 5 too must refer to either of these two streams (probably to the Śutudrī the more important of the two) or to both. One therefore wonders how Grassmann could cite these passages for 'Sindhu' as "Eigenname des Indus-Flusses." But in his Translation (Vol. I, p. 80), he has quite sensibly taken the word to mean simply a river in both these verses. R. V. V. 53-9 "मा वा रुसान्तिभा कुभा क्रुमुर्मा वः सिन्धुनि रीरमत । मा वः परिष्ठात्सुरयुः पुरीषिण्यस्ने इत्सुन्मस्तु वः ॥," however, most certainly mentions the Indus as सिन्धुः for मा वः is repeated before सिन्धुः and सिन्धुः" must be therefore a specific river here and cannot be adjective to क्रुमुः in the preceding foot, as अनिन्तिभा<sup>30</sup> is to रुसा and पुरीषिणी may be<sup>31</sup> to सुरयुः. R. V. VIII. 20-25, VIII. 26-18, X. 64-9 and X. 75 undoubtedly use the word सिन्धु as the name of a particular river (obviously the Indus).

30. Anitabhā should not be taken as the name of a distinct river as Max Müller (S.B.E. XXXII, 323) and Macdonell and Keith (Vedic Index, II, p. 209, ll. 18-20) have done; for the word occurs nowhere else in the Rgveda or elsewhere as the name of a river.

31. But see below for another suggestion about this पुरीषिणी.



But Macdonell and Keith (Vedic Index II, 450) cite R. V. I. 126-1, IV. 55-3, VII. 95-1, VIII. 12-3, VIII. 25-14, in addition to I. 122-6, V. 53-9, VIII. 20-25, VIII. 26-18 and X. 64-9 as mentioning the Indus by the name of सिन्धु. That R. V. I. 126-1 : “अमन्दास्तोमात्र भरे मनीषा सिन्धुवधिं क्षियतो भाव्यस्य । यो मे सहस्रमभिमीत सुवानुतूर्तो राजा श्रवं इच्छमानः ॥” refers to the Indus cannot be doubted, especially because the ewes of Gandhāra are mentioned in the concluding verse of the hymn. But by no means as certain are IV. 54-6 : “ये ते विरहन्तस्वितः सुवासो दिवेदिवे सौभगमासुवति । इन्द्रो द्यावापृथिवी सिन्धुरद्विरादित्यैर्नो अदितिः शर्म यंसत् ॥४१५४।६॥” “प्र पुस्त्याऽमदितिं सिन्धुमकः स्वस्तिमीले सुखाय देवीम् । उभे यथा नो अहनी निपात उषासानक्तां करतामदध्वे ॥४१५४।३॥,” where सिन्धु may well mean the goddess presiding over rivers. R. V. VII. 95-1 has been quoted and discussed in connection with the identification of the Sārasvati and सिन्धु: is a common noun there, obviously meaning ‘the river,’ and refers to the सरस्वती in the second line. It is therefore much to be regretted that Professors Macdonell and Keith have understood the word as a proper noun meaning the Indus.<sup>32</sup> In VIII. 12-13 : “येन सिन्धुं महीरूपो रथो इव प्रचोदयः । पन्थामृतस्य यातवे तमीमहे ॥,” *sindhu* most probably means rivers in general for the feat described here is that of Indra<sup>33</sup> and Indra is everywhere<sup>34</sup> said to set free the rivers to flow. R. V. VIII. 25-14 “उत नः सिन्धुरपां तन्मस्तुस्तद्विवता । इन्द्रो विष्णुर्मिद्वांसः सुजोषसः ॥” too probably refers not to the Indus but either to rivers in general or to the sea.<sup>35</sup> R. V. VIII. 25-12 “अन्नते विष्णवे वयमरिष्यतः सुदानवे । श्रुधिं स्वयावन्तिस्वो पूर्वचितये ॥,” contains

32. Vedic Index, II, article on Sindhu, note 3.

33. The hymn is addressed to Indra.

34. Compare II. 12-12 अवासृजन्सर्वं सप्तसिन्धून्.

35. Compare Grassmann, Wörterbuch, column 1519, meanings 11 and 13 for Sindhu.

nothing that would compel us to believe that the Indus is meant by सिन्धु.

In his Vedic Reader for Students (p. 103) Professor Macdonell renders “त्वां गिरः सिन्धुमित्रावनीर्मुहीरापृणन्ति शत्रसा वृष्यन्ति च” (R. V. V. 11-5 c and d) by “The songs fill thee, as the great rivers the Indus, with power, and strengthen thee.” But it is not at all necessary to bring in the Indus here. सिन्धुः here can very easily mean the ocean; for the idea of the river or waters filling the sea I may refer to R. V. III. 35-3 “समुन्या यन्त्युप यन्त्युन्याः समानमुर्वं नद्यः पृणन्ति” where Macdonell himself understands ऊर्वम् to mean the ocean. Grassmann (Wörterbuch and Übersetzung) gives सिन्धुम् in V. 51-5 the meaning of ‘the sea.’

We thus see that in the whole R̥gveda only half a dozen passages can be certainly cited as referring to the Indus by the name of Sīndhu, viz., I. 126.1, V. 53.9 VIII. 20-25, VIII. 26-18, X. 64-9 and X. 75. Is this not remarkable, when there are so many references to the river Sārasvatī? The Indus as सिन्धु is praised in only one complete hymn (X. 75), whereas Sārasvatī or Sārasvant are sung in at least three entire hymns, VI. 61, VII. 95 and VII. 96, all belonging to an earlier age. But if we take Sārasvatī (in the older portion of the R̥gveda) and Sīndhu (in old as well as later portion of the R̥gveda) both as meaning the Indus we find a very large number of references to this important river. I now quote below R. V. X. 75 a famous hymn in praise of the Sīndhu (Indus) and show that the description can be closely paralleled by earlier descriptions of the Sārasvatī (=Indus, according to what I have just said). The hymn is, according to the Anukramaṇī, by one Praiyamedha-living-on-the-Indus and runs thus:—



प्र सु व आपो महिमानमुत्तमं कारुर्वो चाति सदेने विवस्वतः ।  
 प्र सप्तसप्त त्रयोधा हि चक्रमुः य सृत्वंरीणामति सिन्धुरोजसा ॥१॥  
 प्र तैःरद्वद्वरुणो यातवे पथः सिन्धो यद्वाजो अभ्यद्रवस्त्वम् ।  
 भूम्या अधि प्रवता यासि सानुना यदेपामग्रं जगतामिरुज्यसि ॥२॥  
 दिवि स्वनां यतते भूम्योपर्यन्तं शुष्ममुदिवति भानुना ।  
 अत्रादिव प्र स्तनयन्ति वृष्ट्युः सिन्धुर्यदेति वृषभो न रोस्वत् ॥३॥  
 अभि त्वा सिन्धो शिशु मित्रमातरों वाश्वा अपन्ति पर्यसेव धेनवः ।  
 राजेव युध्वा नयसि त्वमितिसचौ यदोसामग्रं प्रवतामिनक्षसि ॥४॥  
 इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति गुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता परुष्ण्या ।  
 असिक्त्या मरुद्धे वितस्तुयार्जो कीये शृणुह्या सुषोमया ॥५॥  
 तृष्टामया प्रथमं यातवे सज्जः सुसत्वा रसया श्वेत्या त्या ।  
 त्वं सिन्धो कुभया गोमतीं क्रमुं मेहृत्वा मरुथं याभिरीयसे ॥६॥  
 ऋजुत्येनो रुशती महित्वा परि जूयासि भरते रजांसि ।  
 अदब्धा सिन्धुरपसामपस्तुमाश्वा न क्षित्रा वपुषीव दर्शता ॥७॥  
 स्वश्वा सिन्धुः सुरथा सुवासा हिरण्ययो सुकृता वाजिनीवयी ।  
 ऊर्णावती युवतिः मीलमावत्युताधि वस्ते सुभगा मधुवृधम् ॥८॥  
 मुखं रथं युयुजे सिन्धुरश्विनं तेन वाजं सनिषदस्मिन्नाजौ ।  
 महान् ह्यस्य महिमा पतस्यतेऽदब्धस्य स्वयंशसो विरुषिणः ॥९॥७५॥

In the first verse the Sindhū has been said to have outstripped the other rivers "सृत्वंरीणामति" (चक्राम् or क्रमम् understood) which can be paralleled by उत्तरा सखिभ्यः for the Sārasvatī in VII. 95. 4. Coming to the second verse we find भूम्या अधि प्रवताः यासि सानुना 'you flow down towards the earth by the sides of mountains (=mountain-gorges)' and this at on a reminds us of VI. 61. 2 "इयं शुष्मैभिविसृखा इवारुजत् सानु गिरीणां तद्विषेभिरुमिभिः, etc.," and V. 43-11 "आ नो दिवो बृहत् पर्वतादा सरस्वती यजता गन्तु यजम्." The third verse seems to echo VI. 61-8, "यस्या अनुन्तो अह्नु तस्तेवश्चरिणुरणु रण्वः । अमुश्चरन्ति रोस्वत् ॥" The first half of the fourth verse "अभि त्वा सिन्धो शिशु मित्र मातरों वाश्वा अपन्ति पर्यसेव धेनवः" has its parallel in "सरस्वती (सप्तथी) सिन्धु माता" of VII. 36-6 which I have explained at length. Verses 5 and 6 described only the eastern

and western tributaries of the Indus <sup>36</sup> and we need not touch them. In the seventh verse the Sindhu has been called अग्रतमम् अग्रतमा 'most active to the active ones' and the same adjective has been given to the Sārasvatī in VI. 61-13. The latter half of verse 8 "ऊर्णावती युवतिः मीलवा-  
वत्युताधिर्वस्ते सुभगा मधुवृधम्" may to be reminiscent of VII. 96. 5 "ये ते सरस्व ऊर्मयो मधुमन्तो घृतश्रुतः । तेभिर्नोऽञ्जिता भव ॥." For the 'हिरण्ययो' in the first half we may cite "हिरण्यवर्तनिः" in VI. 61-7. The concluding verse too may be partly paralleled by VII. 95-3 "स वाजिनं मधवद्वयो दधाति वि सातये तन्वं सामृजीत." In conclusion I may point out that in X. 75, the Sindhu has received both feminine and masculine adjectives, e.g., रुशनी, अदब्धा, etc., by the side of अस्य अदब्धस्य विरुपणिः and this is exactly similar to सरस्वती in the feminine and सरस्वान् in the masculine appearing together in one single hymn (VII. 96 and VII. 95). None of these agreements *singly* prove anything but their *cumulative effect* is suggestive. Can it be denied therefore that we get some corroborative evidence for the Sārasvatī-Indus-identification from R. V. X. 75?

I may now begin to answer the objection raised against this identification. I shall "प्रधानमल्लनिर्बह्णन्यायेन" confine my-

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36. Of course the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā are not tributaries of the Indus. But as all the other rivers mentioned carry their waters directly or through other streams to the Indus, may we not think that our poet who lived on the Indus, knew not precisely where the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā discharged their waters? But the Jamna was really at one time a tributary of the Indus (Keane's, Asia, Vol. II, 62) and Prayāgmedha may have been living before its course was diverted to the Ganges. It is only about the Gaṅgā that he may have made a mistake.



self to what Professors Macdonell and Keith<sup>37</sup> have said. They write :—

“The insistence on the divine character of the river is seen in the very hymn<sup>38</sup> which refers to it as the support of the five tribes, and corresponds with the later sacredness. Moreover that hymn alludes to the Pārāvatas, a people shown by the later evidence of the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa<sup>39</sup> to have been in the east, a very long way from their original home, if Sarasvatī mean the Indus. Again, the Pūrus, who were settled on the Sarasvatī,<sup>40</sup> could with great difficulty be located in the far west. Moreover, the five tribes might easily be held to be on the Sarasvatī, when they were, as they seem to have been, the western neighbours of the Bharatas in Kurukṣetra, and the Sarasvatī could easily be regarded as the boundary of the Punjab in that sense. Again, the ‘seven rivers’ in one passage<sup>41</sup> clearly designate a district; it is

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37. Vedic Index, Vol. II, pp. 436-437.

38. R.V. II. 41. 16 (devitame).

39. See Pārāvata and *cf.* Bṛsaya.

40. R.V. VII. 95, 96. Ludwig, *op. cit.*, 3, 175, admits that the Indus cannot be meant here. See Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie* I, 115.

41. R.V. VIII. 24-27. The connexion of Sarasvatī and the seven rivers is rather vague. In R.V. VIII. 54.4, Sarasvatī and the seven rivers are separately invoked, and in VI. 61. 10. 12, she is referred to as ‘seven-sistered (*saptasvasā*)’. In VII. 36. 6, she is called the ‘seventh,’ which makes the Sarasvatī one of the rivers. If the former passages are to be treated as precise, then *saptasvasā* may be considered to show that the Sarasvatī was outside the river system (which would then be Indus, Kubhā and the five rivers of the Punjab, see *Sapta-Sindhavaḥ*); but the expression may be loosely meant for one of seven rivers.

most probable that they are not the five rivers with the Indus and the Kubhā (Cabul river), but the five rivers, the Indus and the Sarasvatī. Nor is it difficult to see why the river is said to flow to the sea: either the Vedic poet had never followed the course of the river to its end, or the river did actually penetrate the desert either completely or for a long distance, and only in the Brāhmaṇa period was its disappearance in the desert found out. It is said, indeed, in the Vājasaneyī Samhitā<sup>42</sup> that the five rivers go to the Sarasvatī, but this passage is not only late (as the use of the word Deśa shows), but it does not say that the five rivers meant are those of the Punjab. Moreover, the passage has neither a parallel in the other Samhitas, nor can it possibly be regarded as an early production; if it is late it must refer to the later Sarasvatī."

In R. V. II. 41. 17 all men (विश्वं आयूषि—Macdonell and Keith's 'five tribes'?) are said to be supported by the Sārasvatī and in the previous verse the river has been called the most motherly and the highest goddess. But how does that compel us to believe that the river is the Sarsuti? There is nothing in the R̥gveda which precludes us from holding that in the earliest period, the Indus was considered as a particularly sacred river. A sacred character does attach to the Sindhu described in R. V. X. 75; cf. महान् ह्यस्य महिमा पतस्यतेऽदब्धस्य स्वयंशतो विरुप्तिनः, 9 c and d. The R̥gvedic life was a riverside one: the Vedic Aryans seem to have been all settled on river banks. Naturally they looked upon all rivets as sacred. This habit is also seen among the ancient Iranians who paid honour to the



Ardvi-Sūra-Anāhita and among later Hindus<sup>43</sup> who have all their sacred places on river banks. The Indus being the biggest river was the most beneficent stream and naturally the Vedic Aryans would call her *ambitamā*, *naditamā* and *devitamā*. The banks of the Indus cannot today boast of vegetation, but they have not always been treeless. "There was a time when forests grew on the Indus—forest with timber sufficient to enable Alexander Great to construct the first Indus flotilla."<sup>44</sup> Grains too may have grown there extensively in Vedic times. I therefore see no difficulty in holding that along with the name Sārasvatī, the sacred character too of the Indus was in later times transferred to the Sarsutī of Kurukṣetra.

Nor do I see any force in the objection raised by Macdonell and Keith on the ground of the alleged allusion to the Pārāvatas in connexion with the Sārasvatī. The reference to the Pārāvatas is not in II. 41 but in VI. 61. 2 where we have पारावतुष्ठीमवसे सुवृक्तिभिः सरस्वतीमाविवासेम ध्योतिभिः. Macdonell and Keith say, as the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa shows the Pārāvatas to be living on the Yamunā, the Indus cannot be a destroyer of them and hence the पारावतुष्ठी सरस्वती must be the Sarsuti of Kurukṣetra, not very far from the Jumna, I do not see how it may be scientific to interpret the Ṛgveda in the light of the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa. Also, how do the Professors become sure that there is a reference to a people known as the 'Pārāvatas' in VI. 61. 25. The word पारावत occurs only in four places of the Ṛgveda, viz., V. 52. 11,

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43. Before beginning our *pujā*, we purify the water by muttering the *mantra* गङ्गे च यमुने चैव गोदावरि सरस्वति । नर्मदे सिन्धु कावेरि जले-  
ऽस्मिन् सन्निधिं कुरु ॥, manifesting our veneration for rivers.

44. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. I, p. 28.

61. 2, VIII, 34. 18 and VIII. 89. 6. Grassmann in his Wörterbuch (column 807) and Uebersetzung (Vol. I, pp. 203, 289 561, 566), gives the word the meaning of 'coming from a distance' in the first and last passages, deriving it from *parāvat* 'distance' and the meaning of 'a particular people' only in VIII. 34. 18. He renders पारावतृष्णी in VI. 61. 2 by 'striking the distant (foemen or demons),'. Similarly Roth in the Sanskrit Wörterbuch. Of course the Pārāvata in VIII. 34. 18. is perhaps a tribal name of the donor Vasurocis praised in the hymn and "पारावतृ यत्पुंसंभूतं वसुपावृणोः शरुभाय ऋषिबन्धवे" in VIII. 89, 6 too probabiy refers to the wealth of a Pārāvata, as Sāyaṇa understands the passage, though Roth and Grassmann make पारावतम् here simply an adjective from पारावत्. But it is altogether certain that in V. 52.11 "अथा नरो व्योहतेष्वानियुतं ओहते । अथा पारावता इति चित्रा रूपानि दश्या ॥" we have a word which is to be derived from *parāvat*. पारावताः here are the Maruts. How can theso be connected with a particular people? The Maruts are the *devatā* of the hymn. In the first quarter of this verse, the 'men' (heroes) ore faid to 'blow hither' (*i.e.*, to the place of the sacrifice); this fdea is repeated in the second foot where नरः is substituted by नियुतः ('gathered together') and the repetition of the conjunction अथ and the want of any verb in the third foot show that there is a further repetition and the verb ओहते is to be supplied from ths first and second feet. पारावतः is thus an adjective to the Maruts, which is parallel to the नरः in the first line and नियुतः in the scoud. Sāyaṇa's rendering दूरदेशसम्बन्धिनः<sup>45</sup> is the only possible ond.<sup>46</sup> The verse may be thus translated line by line,

45. Similarly Grassmann, "die man aus der Ferne ruft."

46. That पारावतः here means 'those who have come from a distance' is made highly probable by R. V. V. 53.8 आ यात मस्तौ



Now the heroes blow hither,  
 Now in bands they come hither,  
 Now (they come who are) of distant realms,  
 Brilliant aspects (have they) worth the sight.

I have no hesitation in rejecting Griffith's translation (particularly of the third line): "To this the Heroes will attend, well do their teams attend to this. Visible are their varied forms. *Behold, they are Pārāvatas.*"

We thus see that there is at least one passage in which the word पारावत does not mean a particular people. It is just possible that in VI. 61. 2 too there is no reference to any Pārāvatas. पारावतस्त्री might well mean 'dashing from a distance.' This description very nicely suits the Indus 'Dashing against the rocks' too might do if Hillebrandt's suggestion<sup>47</sup> about the origin of the word *pārāvata* be accepted. Yāska in his Nīrūkta (II. 24) has commented on this verse and has rendered पारावतस्त्रीम् by पारावार-घातिनीम् 'dashing against the sides.' There is nothing in the context that militates against this interpretation but there may be etymological difficulties against accepting it; 'dashing from a distance' will present no such difficulty. Hence we cannot be sure that a people called Pārāvatas are referred to in VI. 61.2. Even if it be true that the poet calls the Sārasvatī the killer or overthrower of the Pārāvatas in verse 2 of the hymn, as he has called her the consumer of the Paṇis in verse 1 and has asked her to destroy the progeny of the sorcerer Bṛsaya in verse 3, we need not locate the Pārāvatas at a distance from

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दिव आन्तरिक्षाद्मादुत । माव' स्थान परावतः and V, 61,1 ॥ के ष्ठा नरुः  
 श्रेष्ठतमा य एकैक आयुय । पुरमस्याः परावतः ॥ where the Maruts  
 are said to 'come from a distance.'

47. See Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, I, 512.

the Indus. I have said above that R. V. VIII. 34. 18 and VIII. 89. 6 refer to a tribe known as Pārāvatas. In VIII, 34, Nīpātithi Kāṇva sings the praise of Indra and concludes with a *dānastuti* of the Pārāvata Chief (?) Vasurocis<sup>48</sup> who had given him a thousand fleet and strong horses. Surely we would expect the finest breed of horses on the banks of the Indus. Would we therefore be far wrong in locating the Pārāvatas of R. V. VIII. 34. 18, somewhere near the Indus? I do not see why we should go to the Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa for the localisation of the country of the R̥gvedic Pārāvatas, when it is certain that in the Brāhmaṇa period many tribes had left their old R̥gvedic homes and had migrated further into the interior of India.<sup>49</sup>

48. I believe that वसुरोचिषः in verse 16 and परावतस्य in verse 18 refer to the same person and that the former is the personal name of the donor and the latter his tribal name.

49. Incidentally I may mention however that Hiuen Tsang in Book XI of his Travels, gives a description of 23 countries mostly in the order of his travel, among which comes PO-FA-TO which Beal Sanskritises as Parvata. The fifteenth country is SIN-TU (Sindhu), the sixteenth MU-LO-SAN-P'U-LU Mūlasthānapura = Multan) and the seventeenth is our PO-FA-TO. The eighteenth is 'O-TIEN-P'O-CHI-LO (Atyanabakala?). After concluding his description of the land PO-FA-TO, Hiuen Tsang writes, 'leaving the Sindh country. and going south-west 1500 or 1600 li, we come to the Kingdom of 'O-TIEN-P'O-CHI-LO.' By this he clearly means that SIN-TU proper, MU LO-SAN-P'U-Lu and PO-FA-TO are in the Sindhu country. The PO-FA-TO is thus near the Indus. Beal Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II, p. 275, n 87) points out that Pāṇini in IV. 2. 143 ("पर्वताच्च" coming immediately before "विभाषाऽमनुष्ये" ४।२।१४४) probably refers to the country of पर्वत and certainly reads the name पर्वत in the तक्षशिलादि class ('सिन्धु-तक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञ्' ४।३।६३).



The passage from the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (IX. 4. 10-11) which refers to the Pārāvatas is “तौरश्वसे कार्ये ॥१०॥ तुरश्वमश्च वै पारावतानाञ्च सोमौ संसुतावास्तां तत एते तुरश्ववाः सामनी अपश्यत् ताभ्याम् अस्मा इन्द्रः शात्मलिना यमुनाया हृद्यं निरावहत् । यतौरश्वसे भवतो हृद्यम् एवैषां वृङ्क्ते ॥११॥” The context makes it certain that both Turaśravas and the Pārāvatas lived or sacrificed on the Yamunā. But should we draw any argument from this passage for the home of the R̥gvedic Pārāvatas? Besides, is it certain that in the R̥gveda too (VIII. 34, and VIII. 86) पारावत् meant an individual tribe? It would be simpler to conceive that पारावत् of R. V. VIII. 34. 18 and VIII. 89. 6 too came from परावत् and meant “any distant or frontier tribe.” The word has the same accent in VIII. 34. 18 and VIII. 89. 6 as in V. 52. 11 and it is therefore most likely that in all the three places it is derived from the same stem. In the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa too, it is possible, no individual tribe is meant but ‘the distant people.’ This is made likely by what follows almost immediately after—“विहव्यं शस्यम् ॥१३॥ जमदग्नेश्च वा ऋषीणाञ्च सोमौ संसुतावास्तां तत एतज्जमदग्निविहव्यम् अपश्यत् तमिन्द्र उपावर्तत । यद्विहव्यं होता शंसतीन्द्रमेवैषां वृङ्क्ते ॥१४॥” the only passage in the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa which gives a parallel to the one quoted above. Here ṛisīs are mentioned in general terms as rivals of Jamadagni and no particular sages are mentioned. In P. B. IX. 4. 11 too ‘the distant people, the frontier tribes’ may have been mentioned instead of an individual tribe. The ‘distant people’ are said to have sacrificed on Yamunā but that river may have then formed the eastern boundary of Aryan settlements and peoples on its banks could well have been characterised as ‘distant people or frontier tribes.’ In support of my guess, I may refer to Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa XXV. 13. 4, “स य आग्नेयेनाष्टाकपालेन दक्षिणेन तीरेण दृषद्वत्वाः शम्या परासाति त्रिज्जान्

प्रति यमुनामवभृथमभ्यवेति तदेव मनुष्येभ्यस्तिरोभवति ॥” in the section on the Dārṣadvata Satra and to the corresponding portion of the Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra (X. 19. 8-15)—“दृषद्वत्या दक्षिणेन तीरेणेयात् ॥८॥ तस्याः प्रभव्यममं प्रात्येतयेष्टचेष्ट्वा त्रिष्वक्षवहरण प्रति यमुना-मवभृथमभ्यवेयात् ॥९॥ यत्र क च ततो दूरे यमुना स्यात् तत्रैतयेष्टचेष्ट्वा स्वय साम गायन्नवभृथमभ्यवेयादगायन् वा ॥१०॥ प्रत्रिष्यतोऽयनमिदं मन्य इति धानञ्जप्यस्तदेव मनुष्येभ्यस्तिरोभवति ॥११॥ न ग्रामं पुनरेयादिति ॥१२॥ स्वर्गं लोकमाक्रमते ॥१३॥ व्यावर्तते श्रेयान् भवतीति वा ॥१४॥ उदकान्तर्द्धानाद्वा यथा सरजस इति ॥१५॥” It is probably because the Yamunā then formed the eastern boundary of Aryan habitation that an *avabhṛtha* in its waters could be utilised for the Dārṣadvata Satra, a ceremony which ensured ‘disappearance from the human world’ and attainment of heaven. The Pārāvatas on the banks of this Yamunā might be therefore simply ‘a frontier people.’ पारावत would thus become a relative term, able to denote any distant tribe and in any direction. पारावतुन्नीम् in R. V. VI. 6I. 2, does not in all probability refer to any tribe at all, but even if it does, these Pārāvatas may have been a tribe or tribes living at a distance from the habitation of the Bhāradvājas.

The Pūrus are mentioned in R. V. VII. 96. 2 as living on both the banks of the Sārasvatī. I cannot understand how this goes against identifying the Sārasvatī. of this passage with the Indus. Professors Macdonell and Keith say that it is difficult to place the Pūrus in the extreme west, but why? The Pūrus were one of the confederates against whom Sudās fought in the famous battle of ten kings on the banks of the Ravi. This Ravi is just midway between the Indus and the eastern Sarsuti and the Pūrus living on the eastern bank of the Indus may well have marched thence to fight with Sudās. In this battle ten kings belonging probably to ten different tribes fought against Sudās and some at least of them may have come



from a distance simply for the sake of this engagement. I shall have to return to this point again when I shall show the connexion of the Pūrus with the Bharatas and the later Kurus. It will be evident from what I shall say that the Bharatas did not always occupy the country of Kurukṣetra and that in the time of the earlier portion of the R̥gveda they lived in the western Punjab. The five tribes could therefore easily be their neighbours in those days though these tribes lived on the Indus (R. V. VI. 6I. I2).

The सूतसिन्धुः of VIII. 24. 27 undoubtedly meant a country and evidently the land which is now known as the Punjab, but what reason is there for supposing that the seven rivers which gave the land this name were the Indus, the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas, the Sutlej and the Sarsuti? The Vedic poets were acquainted with and have mentioned many rivers besides these, in the Punjab and outside the Punjab. Why should we therefore exclude the Suvāstu (Swat), the Kubhā (Kabul), the Krumu (Kurru), the Gomatī (Gomal), the Sarayū (identity uncertain), the Marudvṛdhā (Maroowardhwan), Dṛśadvatī and the Yamunā from the list of rivers? The "seven rivers" are often mentioned in connexion with Indra's famous feat of killing Vṛtra and "letting loose the waters." I think 'seven' is in all these passages merely a traditional number. Attempts to determine what particular rivers in the Punjab made up this number are therefore only "काकदन्तगणना."

I do not deny that in the time of the R̥gveda, the Sarsuti reached the sea (the Arabian Sea or the Rann of Cutch); but, as I have shown above, my identification of the Sārasvatī of the older portion of the R̥gveda with

the Indus does not rest on the ground of its reaching the sea. On a former occasion,<sup>50</sup> I had claimed support for my Sārsvatī-Indus-identification in Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā XXXIV, 11: पञ्च नद्यः सरस्वतीमपियन्ति सप्तोत्तसः । सरस्वती तु पञ्चुषा सुो देहेऽभवत् सुस्ति ॥. But this is undoubtedly a very late *mantra* and I am now convinced that there is no reference to the Indus here—this is not for the occurrence of the late word *deśa* but on account of the undoubted fact that in the period of the Yajurveda and the Brāhmanas the centre of Vedic culture and Aryan habitation had shifted to the Madhyadeśa and the little stream in Kurukṣetra must have been then the Sārasvatī of sacred memory. I therefore now propose to take the verse to mean, “the five (sacred) rivers<sup>51</sup> of similar stream enter into (*i.e.* impart their sanctity to) the Sārasvatī (=the Sarsuti) which (though flowing in a different land possesses the sanctity of even those rivers and) becomes the five-time sacred river of the land (Kurukṣetra or Madhyadeśa).” For a similar idea, compare Tāndyamahābrāhmaṇa XXV, 13, 3, where Kurukṣetra is said to be equivalent to the whole world.

Professors Macdonell and Keith<sup>52</sup> have rightly seen a contradiction between the two adjectives of the Sārasvatī *Saptāsvasā* (VI, 61, 10) and *saptāthī sindhumātā* (VII, 36, 6). They take the first to be a loose expression. But as the adjective seven-sistered is more frequent, it would be more proper to take rather the second expression (‘the seventh of the rivers’) to be loosely used. I have already

50. Calcutta Review for May 1922, p. 319.

51. Probably the five rivers of the Punjab, but there is some uncertainty.

52. Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 436, note 20.



discussed these passages and I need not repeat what I have said. The *Sārasvatī* would therefore be best taken as outside the system of 'seven rivers' but I do not want to press the point. As regards the specification of these seven rivers I do not venture upon a guess and I prefer, as I have just said, to take 'seven' to be a merely traditional number. Compare X. 75, where *Praiyamedha* living on the *Sindhu* characterises the "waters" as moving in groups of seven (सप्तसप्त).

I have now come to the end of this section. I have shown that in the earlier portions of the *R̥gveda*, particularly in *Maṇḍalas* VI and VII, "*Sārasvatī*" meant the *Indus* and in the X *Maṇḍala* it means the *Sarsuti* in *Kurukṣetra*. As the *Aryans* advanced from the *Indus* basin, crossed the *Punjab* rivers and occupied the *Madhyadeśa*, they gave to the river in *Kurukṣetra* parallel to the *Dṛṣadvatī* the name of *Sārasvatī*, which in earlier times meant the *Indus*. The *Indus* was first called "*Sārasvatī*" and occasionally also "*Sindhu*" but since the little stream in *Madhyadeśa* came to appropriate to itself that old name, the *Indus* went by the name of '*Sindhu*' alone. The *Sarsuti* was thus the Eastern *Sārasvatī*. The *St. Petersburg Dictionary* states that it did often have the adjective पूर्वा or प्राची which, if true, would support my view.<sup>53</sup> That the *Indus* was once known as the "*Sārasvatī*"

53. I find in a *Gujarati* article in the "*Gujrat*" for *Aswin*, 1979 (*Samvat*), the following *Sanskrit* verse, quoted probably from some *Purāṇa* text, which I cannot trace to its source :

रुद्रावर्त्ते कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीस्थले पुष्करेऽपि वा ।

प्रभासे पञ्चमे तीर्थे पञ्च प्राची सरस्वती ॥

The verse shows that the name *Sarasvatī* has not been confined to one single stream.

is also proved by the fact that a province to its west (Arachosia) is given the name of Haraxvaiti in the Avesta (Vendidad I, 13) and Haraувati in the Ancient Persian Inscriptions (Behistun, I. 17, III. 55, 56. 72, 76, Darius Persepolis e 17, Darius Nakṣ-i-Rustam 24).

## II

In this part I shall cite some other cases of transference of river names. First comes the Gomatī. According to Grassmann गोमती as a proper name for a river occurs only in R. V. VIII, 24, 30 and X. 75, 6. I have quoted in full the seventy-fifth hymn of Tenth Maṇḍala and it is quite clear that the Gomatī there is a western tributary of the Indus and Professors Macdonell and Keith<sup>54</sup> too have not doubted its identification with the Gomati. This Gomatī then is not the river Gumti in the United provinces. What reason is there for believing with Geldner that the Gomatī of R. V. VIII, 24, 30 should be the Gumti? Professors Macdonell and Keith have said, "This accords well with the later use of the name and with the general probability of the river here intended being in Kurukṣetra, as the centre of Vedic civilization." But the Gomatī of R. V. X, 75, 6, is surely not the same as the later Gomatī (Gumti). The general probability mentioned by the Professors is purely subjective and has little basis in facts. It is only the civilization of the later Saṃhitās probably and of the Brāhmaṇas most certainly centred round Kurukṣetra. Professors Macdonell and Keith seem to find reference to the river Gomatī in a third passage of the R̥gveda, viz., V, 61. 19. "एष क्षेति रथवीरिमुषवा गोमतीरनु । पर्वतुष्वपश्रितः ॥" Here both the accent (acute on the first syllable) and

54. Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 238.



inflection (feminine accusative plural) of गोमती: are against this supposition. Of course it has been proposed to read गोमतीम् but one feels a strong prejudice against such emendations and I cannot find it in me to reject both the Samhitā and Pada texts. The word is best left as it is. Professors Oldenberg<sup>55</sup> writes, "Change of accent as well as change of case-ending raises a doubt where the origion of the text-corruption is obscure. In spite of the force in the striking resemblance with VIII, 24, 30 (अपञ्चितः in both the places), should not one support here गोमती: having regard to IV, 21, 4?" गोमती: in V, 61, 19 cannot therefore mean the river गोमती. Sāyaṇa renders the word by उदकवतीर्नदी: If that meaning is not liked, surely गोबहुला भूमी: which suits the context well will be acceptable. The poet (Syāvāśva Ātreya) expresses in verse 10 his gratitude for a gift of hundred cows each received from Purumīlha, Taranta and Vaidadaśvi<sup>56</sup> and has also already (verses 5-9) poured forth his gratitude for similar gifts from an unnamed lady.<sup>57</sup> In verses 17 and 18, एतं मे स्तोममूर्त्ये दाम्याय परा वह । गिरो देवि रुथीरिव ॥ उय मे वोचतानिति सुतहोमे रथवीती । न कामो अप वेति मे ॥ our poet says that his wants are not fulfilled and wishes that Dālbhya Rathavīti should be informed of this. Would it be wrong therefore to find in the following verse (closing one in the hymn) a wistful reference to the plentiful cows in the mountain abodes<sup>58</sup> of Rathavīti some of which he may graciously send

55. R̥gveda, textkritische und exegetische Noten I, 355.

56. It seems best to take these three as three distinct persons.

57. Śāṣīyāsī may not be her name nor is it certain that she was Tarantā's wife.

58. Little importance should be attached to the story in the Bṛhaddevata V, 50-80, told in this connexion.

down to the needy Śyāvāśva? I may mention here that Professor Oldenberg notices a play on the word गोमती in VIII, 24, 30.<sup>59</sup> It thus appears to me that no river called Gomatī is mentioned in V, 61, 19. The गोमती in X, 75, 6 certainly and in VIII, 24, 30, probably<sup>60</sup> is the Gomati. But in later times a different river comes to be called the Gomatī.

A similar transference of epithet is also found in the case of the Yamūnā. The name occurs thrice in the R̥gveda, viz., in V, 52, 17, VII, 18, 19 and X, 75, 5. In the last passage the river mentioned is obviously the Jumna; its position in the list leaves no doubt on the point. But in VIII, 8, 19, Hopkins<sup>61</sup> thinks the Yamunā is either the Paruṣṇī or "the double channel of the upper Ravi" and though Macdonell and Keith<sup>62</sup> have rejected the view I cannot help following him. In VII, 13, 18-19, Bheda is said to have been killed and stripped of all his treasures, on the Yamūnā and the Ajas, Yakṣus are said to have suffered there a great massacre of horses. The poet has been so long describing the *Dāśarājña* battle on the Paruṣṇī (the Ravi). It is easy to suppose that he has suddenly jumped to the description of another victory achieved by Sudās hundreds of miles away? Professors Macdonell and Keith have supposed<sup>63</sup> that Bheda was not one of the opponents of Sudās in the *Dāśarājña* battle. That immediately after mentioning the miraculous character of Sudās' single-handed victory

59. R̥gveda, textkritische und exegetische Noten II, 98.

60. I would read in the mention of the land of seven rivers in verse 27 a support for the western localisation of the Gomatī.

61. India, Old and New, p. 52.

62. Vedic Index, II, pp. 186-87.

63. Vedic Index, II, pp. 110-111.



over the ten kings in verse 17, Bheda is mentioned in verses 18 and 19 makes it more than probable that he was one of these combatants. Besides, R. V. VII, 33, 3, “एवेन्नु कं सिन्धुमेभिस्ततारेवेन्नु कं भेदमेभिर्जघान । एवेन्नु कं दाशराज्ञे सुदासं प्रावदिन्द्रो ब्रह्मणा वो वसिष्ठाः ॥” makes it altogether certain that Bheda was vanquished in the Dāśarājña battle. सिन्धुमेभिस्ततार clearly alludes to Sudās’ escape from the flood which his Dāśarājña enemies had expected would overpower him and Sāyaṇa is certainly right in citing here VII, 18, 5 “अर्णांसि चित्पप्रथाना सुदास इन्द्रो गाधान्यकृणोत्सुवारा । शर्धन्ते शिष्यमु चयस्य नव्यः शापुं सिन्धूनामकृणोदशस्तीः ॥” R. V. VII, 33, 3 show beyond doubt that Bheda was one of the participators in the Dāśarājña leage and lost his life in that battle. But that battle was fought on the Paruṣṇī. The Yamunā on which Bheda was killed according to VII, 18, 18 was therefore either this same Páruṣṇī or a river that joined it very near the place of battle (in which case we may suppose that the battle was fought between the two rivers). That Yakṣu<sup>64</sup> is said in VII, 18, 6, “पुरोला इत्तुर्वशो यक्षुरासीद्वाये मत्स्यासो निशिता अपीव । श्रुष्टिं चक्रुर्भृगवो द्रुह्यवश्च सखा सखायमतरद्विषूचोः ॥” to have been entangled along with Turvaśa in the Dāśarājña engagement and his people the Yakṣus are said in VII, 18, 19 “आवदिन्द्रे यमुना तृत्सवश्च प्रात्रं भेदं सर्वताता मुपायत् । अजासंश्च शिष्यवो यक्षवश्च बलिं शीर्षाणि जभ्रुरश्वचानि ॥” to have lost their

64. Yāksu certainly means a particular king or the chief of a particular tribe. It may or may not be a doublet or a mistake for Yādu. Sāyaṇa’s यज्ञकुशलः (यजेः सन्प्रत्ययो न तु सन्नन्तः अतो न द्विर्भावः) is impossible. Langlois taken it as a proper name and so also Grassmann in his Wörterbuch (though in the translation he seems to have omitted the word altogether but without any explanation). Professors Macdonell and Keith seem to have considered Yāksu in VII, 18, 6, to be proper name (Vedic Index, II, 882).

probably because his Bharadvāja priest could not save him from the skilful manœuvre of Sudās guarded by the prayers of Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvāja's new rival. The sympathy of the Bharadvājas for the Pūrus is clearly indicated in VI. 20.10, quoted above. The issue of the Dāśarājña battle is viewed by the Bharadvajas in a different light. In the general overthrow whole armies were destroyed and great was the carnage. But the Yadus and Turvaśas may have escaped by crossing the river<sup>85</sup> and precipitate flight. The Bharadvājas who have been alienated from Sudās and are probably supporters of his present adversary, the Pūru chief, cannot but feel sympathy for the confederates of the Pūrus and we twice find them thanking Indra for saving the Yadus and Turvaśas: “त्वं धुनिर्नद्रु धुनिमतीकृणोरुपः सीरा न स्रवन्तीः । प्रयत्समुद्र<sup>86</sup> मति शूर पवि पाख्यो तुर्वशं यदु स्वस्ति ॥६१२०॥१२॥” and “य आनदत्परावतः सुनीती तुर्वशं यदुम् । इन्द्रः स नो युवा सखा ॥” ६१४१॥<sup>87</sup>

I shall have to notice here a few points in connexion with VII. 83. The Dāśarājña battle is referred to in verse 8 and

85. See Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 315-6; II, p. 185.

86. समुद्र etymologically means ‘collection of waters’ and I have already thrown out the suggestion that the Dāśarājña battle was fought at the confluence of the Chenab and the Ravi between the two rivers. Sudās safely crossed the rivers but his pursuers were drowned, a fate from which the Yadus and Turvaśas may have managed to escape.

87. Mr. Ramāprasād Chanad's interpretation in his “Indo-Aryan Races” of the Rgvedic references to the safe crossing of the Yadus and Turvaśas, though highly original, cannot suit the texts of the Rgveda. The view that Professors Macdonell and Keith have advocated on this difficult question seems quite plausible to me. See the articles on Turvaśa and Yadu in the *Vedic Index*.



IX, 26) or Chenab.<sup>65</sup> The later Jumna is also a 'black river.'<sup>66</sup> The Dāśarājña battle may therefore have been fought on a spot lying between the Rāvi and the Chenab. This supposition would give a good explanation for "सखा सखायमतरद्विषूचोः," VII, 18 6. I cannot just now identify the Sarāyu in V, 53, 9, but it is certainly not the river later famous in Oudh.<sup>67</sup> पुरीषिणी is supposed<sup>68</sup> to an adjective to Sarāyu, which is very likely. But can it be a variant (perhaps a learned form) for पद्मिणी? The shifting of the accent would explain at least the syncopation.

### III

I have tried to show that with one single exception (III, 23, 4) the family books to the R̥gveda mean by सरस्वती the river Indus and it is in the Tenth Maṇḍala that सरस्वती always means the 'Sarsuti'. I shall now try to explain why III, 23, 4, though belonging to a fairly early family collection gives to the word the meaning it bore in later times.

The explanation probably lies in III, 33, a hymn which contains a dialogue between the rivers Vipāś (Beas) and Śutudrī (Sutlej) on one side and Viśvāmitra wishing to cross them with the Bharatas 'eager for conquest' on the other. The hymn is highly interesting from literary as well as historical points of view and I shall therefore quote

65. According to Roth and Stein; see the latter's paper on River-names in the R̥gveda in the Bhandarkar Commemoration volume.

66. It is also known as कालिन्दी.

67. One however feels tempted to think of the Avestan Haroyu (modern Hari-rud).

68. Sāyaṇa on V, 53, 9 and Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, I, 541.

it in full. But I shall discuss only those portions of it which are relevant to the present subject. The hymn is:

(Viśvāmitra) प्र पर्वतानामुग्रती उपस्थादश्वैः इव विषिते हासमाने ।  
गावैव शुभ्रे मातरां रिहाणे विपाट्छुतुद्री पर्यसा जवेते ॥१॥

इन्द्रोऽपिते प्रसवः भिक्षमाणे अच्छा समुद्रं रथ्यैव याथः ।  
सुमाराणे कृमिभिः पिन्वमाने अन्या वामध्वामप्येति शुभ्रे ॥२॥

अच्छा सिन्धुं मानृतमामयासं विपाशमुर्वी सुभगांमगन्म ।  
वृत्समिव मातरां संरिहाणे समानं योनिमनु सञ्चरन्ती ॥३॥

(Rivers) एता वयं पर्यसा पिन्वमाना अनु योनिं देवकृतं चरन्तीः ।  
न वर्तवे प्रसवः सर्गतक्तः क्रियुविप्रो नद्यो जोहवीति ॥४॥

(Viśvā.) रमध्व मे वचसे सोम्याय ऋतावरीरुपं मुहुर्तमेवैः ।  
प्र सिन्धुमच्छा वृहती मन्तीपावस्युरह्वे कुशिकस्य सुनुः ॥५॥

(Riv.) इन्द्रोऽस्मा अरद्वज्रवाहुरपोहन्वृत्रं परिधिं नदीनाम् ।  
देवोऽनयत्सविता सुषाणिस्तस्य वयं प्रसवे याम उर्वीः ॥६॥

प्रवाच्यं शश्वधा वीर्यं तदिन्द्रस्य कर्म यदहिं विवृषत् ।  
वि वज्रेण परिषदो जघानायुसावोऽनमिच्छमानाः ॥७॥

एतद्वचो जरितुर्मपि मृष्टा आ यत्ते घोषानुत्तरा युगानि ।  
उक्येषु कारो प्रति तो जुषस्व मानो नि कः पुरुषत्रा नमस्ते ॥८॥

(Viśvā.) ओ पु स्वसारः कारवै शृणोत युयो वो दूरादनसा रथेन ।  
निषू नमध्वं भवता सुपारा अंधोअक्षाः सिन्धवः सोम्याभिः ॥९॥

(Riv.) आ ते कारो शृणवामा वचांसि युयाथ दूरादनसा रथेन ।  
नि ते नसं पीप्यानेव घोषा मयायेव कन्या शश्वच्चैते ॥१०॥

(Viśvā.) यद्वज्रं त्वा भरताः सुन्तरैर्युगं व्यन ग्राम इषित इन्द्रजुतः ।  
अमुदिहं प्रसवः सर्गतवत आ वो वृणे सुमति युधियानाम् ॥११॥

अनारिषुभरता गव्यवः समभक्तं विप्रः सुमति नदीनाम् ।  
प्र पिन्धवमिषयन्तीः मुराघा आ वक्षणाः गृणध्वं यात जीभम् ॥१२॥

उद्व कृमिः शम्या हुत्वापो योक्त्राणि मुञ्चत । मादुष्कन्तौ व्येनसात्रघीं शुनमारताम् ॥१३॥

The hymn show that Viśvāmitra helped the Bharatas in crossing the Beas and the Sutlej, that these Bharatas had come from a great distance (“ययो वो दूरादनसा रथेन” “युयाथ दूरादनसा रथेन”) and that they were out for conquest. It is possible that King Sudās was among these Bharatas,



as the words of Yāska ("विश्वामित्र ऋषिः सुदासः पैजवनस्य पुरोहितो बभूव स वित्तं गृहीत्वा विपादद्भुतुद्रयोः सम्भेदमा ययौ अनुययुरितरे स विश्वामित्रो नदीस्तुष्टाव गाधा भवत इति" Nir. 11, 24) seem to suggest. Br̥haddevatā IV. 106, "पुरोहितः सन्निज्यार्थं सुदासा सह यन्नृषिः, विपादद्भुतुद्रयोः सम्भेदं शमित्येते उवाच ह ॥" supplies a commentary on Yāska's words and makes it probable that Sudās was among the number. That Sudās was a Bharata as well as a Tṛtsu cannot be doubted by any Vedic scholar<sup>69</sup> to-day, whatever Roth, Muir, Kaegi and Zimmer writing quite a long time ago, may have said. That the Bharatas were marching for conquest (or perhaps colonisation) is clearly established by भ्रुताः...गुव्यन् ग्रामः in verse 11 and भ्रुता गुव्यवः in verse 12. गुव्यन् means 'wishing for cows'. Sāyaṇa takes 'गे' to mean 'water' and renders गुव्यन् by 'wishing' (to cross) the river. But this meaning is without any warrant. 'गेः' does not mean 'water'; even the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta do not<sup>70</sup> include 'water' among the many (?) meaning of the word. 'To cross' too is a gratuitous assumption. But Sāyaṇa has correctly<sup>71</sup> interpreted गुव्यवः in verse 12 by 'गाः आत्मने

69. One scholar has however chosen to doubt the identity of the Bharatas with the Tṛtsus in the Calcutta Review for November, 1923, pp. 157-58. But see my reply in the August, 1924 number of the same Journal. Dr. Das's reply to my criticisms (pp. 378-384, C. R., August, 1924) only obscures the issue by a flourish of rhetoric and display of temper (pp. 374-8).

70. But Durgācārya on Nir. VI. 2 renders गुवाम् of Yāska by अपाम्. we are however not to conclude from this that took 'गे' to be a synonym for 'water'. The R̥gvedic passage (III 30. 10) on which Yāska is commenting means by 'गाः' 'rain-waters' but that only metaphorically. Durgā therefore did not give a synonym but the meaning of the word divested of metaphor.

71. Similar words देव्यवः, अयस्यवः etc., are so frequent in the R. V., that Sāyaṇa could not misunderstand the sense of गुव्यवः. मृगयु is perhaps the only word of this type which has survived in classical Sanskrit.

इच्छन्तः' ('wishing to possess cows'). 'Wishing to possess cows' meant 'wishing to conquer other people's possessions'. The cow was the principal wealth in those days and she was also objective of the enemy's attack. The king was called the गौप (literally 'Protector of Cows') and the word also came to mean simply 'a protector' without any special reference to cows. Readers of the Mahābhārata will recall to their minds the story of the Kaurava attack on the cow-stalls of Kirāta.

The question now arises, from which side did Sudās and the Bharatas cross the Beas and the Sutlej for this forage? Professors Macdonell and Keith<sup>72</sup> have supposed that they came from Kurukṣetra and crossed the rivers from the East. But what is more probable is that the rivers were forded from the west and the Bharatas came from the western parts of the Punjab. Viśvāmitra led them across the Sutlej and they probably settled near Kurukṣetra. They may have transferred to a river in their new home the proud name of 'Sārasvatī'. As the Bharatas were in later times most honoured of all the Aryan tribes<sup>73</sup> and as other tribes probably followed in their wake and joined them in their new home<sup>74</sup> it was this stream which in later times exclusively<sup>75</sup> received the name of Sārasvatī. The Bharatas had dubbed the river "सरस्वती" and there is nothing surprising therefore

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72. Vedic Index II, pp. 310, 436

73. Cf. Vedic Index II, pp. 26-97.

74. The name Pañcāla shows a fusion of five tribes and the fact that there was a rivalry between the Kurus and the Pañcālas makes us assume an old hostility. See below. [Waddell's "able Panch" is based on an etymology which is not even of the type satirised by Voltaire.]

75. But compare ह्रदावर्ते कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीस्थले पुष्करेऽपि वा etc., quoted above.



in the two Bharata princes' referring to this stream by "सरस्वत्याम्" in III. 23. 4. This passage only shows that the Bharatas called the river "Sárasvatī." But by the time of R. V. X. 75, even persons belonging to the extreme west of the Punjab knew it by that name and the river Indus by its other name सिन्धु "Sindhu" alone.

These suppositions can give a satisfactory explanation of many problems of the R̥gveda. On what grounds I have come to such conclusions I shall try to show in the following part of the paper. I shall then fully discuss the personal history of King Sudās and his relations with the Bharadvājas, the Vasiṣṭhas and the Viśvāmitras, questions which are still highly obscure. If I can convince my readers of the plausibility of my account, the correctness of the interpretation I have put on III. 33 and III. 23 will follow as a matter of course. And the proposed identification of the "Sárasvatī" in the earlier portion of the R̥gveda (particularly in Maṇḍalas VI and VII) will be then placed beyond all doubts.

#### IV

King Sudās has been called in the R̥gveda Paijavana. Yāska in Nirukta passage (II. 24) referred to above, "पैजवनः पिजवनस्य पुत्रः", says that Pijavana was the name of Sudās's father. King Divodāsa is also mentioned as the ancestor of Sudās. Professors Macdonell and Keith<sup>76</sup> incline towards the view that Divodāsa was the grandfather of Sudās, and Pijavana his father. Their reasons for this supposition fail to convince me. R. V. VII. 18-22 mentions Paijavana Sudās as the *náptṛ* of Devāvant : द्वे नप्तुर्द्वेवन्तः सुते गोद्वौ रथौ वधूमन्ता सुदासः । अहं ब्रह्मे पैजवनस्य दानं होतैव सच्च पर्येमि रेभन् ॥ Devāvant

76. Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 363 Vol. II, pp. 24 and 554.

seems to be used here for Divodāsa.<sup>77</sup> नप्तुः probably means 'of the son' for 'son' is the usual meaning of the word नप्तु or नपात् in the R̥gveda. But even if the later meaning of 'grandson' be put on the word, as Sāyaṇa has done (देववतो राज्ञो नप्तुः वैत्रस्य), how will Professors Macdonell and Keith explain the concluding verse of the hymn "इमं नरो मरुतः सञ्जितानु दिवोदासु न पितरं सुदासः । अविष्टनं पञ्चनस्य केतं दृणशं क्षत्रम् अजरं दुवोयु ॥" where Divodāsa is explicitly called the father (पितृ) of Sudās ? This passage clearly establishes that Divodāsa was the father and not grandfather of Sudās. As regards Pijavana he may have been the same person as Divodāsa as Geldner<sup>78</sup> supposes or may have been some remote ancestor. Divodās is connected with the Bharadvājas in Maṇḍala VI and Sudās with the Vasiṣṭhas in Maṇḍala VII. But why should that constitute any difficulty ? We know Sudās had connexions with the Viśvāmitras too. Is it therefore impossible for him to take as priests a family distinct from the one which served his father ? I believe that Sudās inherited both his father's throne and his father's priest but he soon exchanged the Bharadvāja for a Vasiṣṭha Priest. He must have earned the hatred of the Bharadvājas for this desertion and it is thinkable that the Bharadvājas tried to avenge themselves on him. In the Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa XXVI. 5 and Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad III. 1 we read of a Pratardana, son of Divodāsa. If this Divodāsa is the same person as Sudās's father, Pratardana would become either Sudās himself or a brother of his. The

77. Compare names like गजसाह्वय (for हस्तिनापुर) in the later literature.

78. Rigveda in Auswahl I. 115.



latter seems more likely.<sup>79</sup> Now we read in the Kāthaka Samhitā XXI. 10, “एतेन ह स्म वै भरद्वाजः प्रतर्दनं संनहन् एति ततो वै स राष्ट्रम् अभवत्”, that Pratardana was aided by a Bharadvāja in the attaining of a glorious kingdom. We have also in the R̥gveda VI. 26. 8, “प्रातर्दनिः क्षत्रश्रीरस्तु श्रेष्ठो धने वृत्राणां सनये वनानाम्”, a son of Pratardana as the protégé of a Bharadvāja. It is therefore thinkable that when Sudās took a Vasiṣṭha to his services, the Bharadvājas became angry and set up his brother Pratardana as a rival claimant to the throne and the Kāthaka passage may be possibly referring to this.

Before passing on to Vasiṣṭha I must say a few words about the tribal relations of Sudās. I have already said that I accept the views of professors Geldner, Macdonell and Keith and other recent workers in the field of Vedic antiquities about the relations between the Tṛtsus and Bharatas. I shall now try to show that the Tṛtsu-Bharatas were also related to the Pūrus. In the R̥gveda, the ‘Five Peoples’ are frequently mentioned. Aupamanyava’s explanation “चत्वारो वर्णा निषादः पञ्चमः”<sup>80</sup> for the term पञ्चजनाः is impossible to follow. Zimmer’s view that the Five People were the Yadus, Turvaśas, Anus, Druhyus and pūrus is the most likely one. These five must have been the principal Aryan tribes. Of them the Pūrus may have been the most

79. Why else is he not mentioned even once in Maṇḍalas III and VII?

80. Quoted in the Nirukta III. 8. Sāyaṇa follows this explanation. Professors Macdonell and Keith (Vedic Index I, 467) have misunderstood Yāska. When Yāska writes गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षांसित्येके (*thus some think*) he does not hold this view himself. His own view must be the same that same as that of Aupamanyava who was probably a Nairukta (Etymologist).

noted people. We know that the later Purāṇas make Pūru the youngest son of king Yayāti but most favoured by his father and they trace the descent of the later noble family of Bharatas and Kauravas from this Pūru. Now in the R̥gveda there are sufficient indication for connecting the Tṛtsu-Bharatas with the Pūrus. Thus we have an exact parallel for (or rather an echo of) R. V. VI. 20. 10 “सुनेम तेऽवसा नव्य इन्द्र प्र पूरवः स्तवस्त एना युज्ञेः । सुप्त यत्पुनः शम् शारदीर्द्धन् दासीः पुरुकुत्साय शिक्षन् ॥” in I. 63.7 “त्वं ह्यत्यिन्द्र सुप्त युध्यन्पुनो वञ्चिन् पुरुकुत्साय ददेः । बर्हिर्न यत्सुदासे वृथावर्गो राजन् वरिवः पूरवे कः ॥” connecting which two passages we may infer that the Tṛtsu-Bharata Sudās had some relation with the Pūrus. More explicit is I. 130. 7, ‘भिनत्पुनो नवृत्तिभिन्द्र पूरवे दिवोदासाय महि दाशुषे’ नृतो वजेण दाशुषे नृतो । अतिथिग्वाय शम्बरं गिरेह्यो अवाभरत् । महो धनानि दयमान् ओजसा विश्वा धनान्योजसा ॥’, where Parucchepa Daivodāsi actually calls Divodāsa Atithigva a Pūru. If अतिथिग्वाय in the third line is in apposition with दिवोदासाय in the first, there is no reason why पूरवे immediately before दिवोदासाय should not be taken as its adjective. This is a very old testimony. The Parucchepa Daivodāsa collection is perhaps as early as the Bhara-dvāja collection or Vasiṣṭha collection.<sup>81</sup> I cannot therefore help concluding that the Tṛtsu-Bharatas were a section of the old family of Pūrus. The “sudden disappearance of the name of the Pūrus from Vedic tradition”<sup>82</sup> may be better accounted for by supposing that the glory of the Pūrus was eclipsed by their near kinsmen, the Bharatas.<sup>83</sup> But the Purāṇas derive the famous Kurus by direct descent from the Pauravas. It

81. See E. V. Arnold, Vedic Metre pp. 48, 171, 272, 278-380, 294.

82. Vedic Index II. 12 .

83. See further below.



is possible that the Pūrus and Tṛtsu-Bharatas again became one people, a supposition which would explain the name Bhāratas given to Kauravas.<sup>84</sup>

But Sudās must have thrown off the allegiance that he owed to the Pūru chief which may have led to the confederacy of Ten Kings against him. The Dāśarājna hymn (R. V. VII. 18) is very, very obscure and I cannot claim to have fully understood it. But I think that this explanation for the origin of the battle can suit our texts. In VII. 18. 13 "वि मुद्यो विष्वा दृढितान्येषामिन्द्रः पुरुः सहसा सुप्तं ददः । व्यानवस्य तृसवे गये भाग् जेष्म पुरुं विदधे मुधवाचम् ॥" Vasiṣṭha exults over the points gained by his Tṛtsu favourite (Sudās) and expresses a hope that the Pūru may be conquered by these efforts, And in VII. 8. 4 "प्र प्रायमुनिर्भरुतस्य शृश्वे वि यत्सूर्यो न रोचने वृहद्धाः । अभि यः पुरुं पृतनासु तस्थौ द्युतानो देव्यो अतिथिः बुशोच ॥", the Pūru chief is said to have been conquered. Combining these two statements I come to the conclusion that the conquest of the Pūru was contingent on the overthrow of the confederacy of Ten Kings and was assured when that was achieved. A Bharadvāja, instead of a Viśvāmitra, may have instigated this confederacy against Vasiṣṭha's patron. The Pūru has been sneeringly called 'of unavailing speech in prayer or worship' (पुरुं विदधे मुधवाचम्) in VII. 18. 13,

84. The Purāṇas are probably wrong in thinking that the name भारत is derived from king Bharata, son of Duṣyanta. The Tṛtsus probably correspond to the Kāśi dynasty of the Purāṇas. The Brahma Purāṇa and the Harivaṃśa trace the ancestry of the Kāśi line to the Pauravas. Though Pargiter (Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 101) following other Purāṇas refuses to accept this connexion, I cannot help following it as it accords with the R̥gveda as we have understood it. 3

horses on the Yamunā also proves that Yamunā was not distinct from or at least distant from the Paruṣṇī.

R. V. V, 52, 17 too leads us to the same conclusion. The hymn is addressed to the Maruts. The author is Śyāvāśva of the Atri family and the Fifth Maṇḍala contains ten hymns by him, all addressed to the Maruts, of which this is the first. In verse 7, the Maruts are said to have 'waxed mighty' (वावृधन्तं) among 'rivers' (वृजने नदीनाम्). No river is specified till we come to verse 9, "उत स्म ते परुष्यामूर्णा वसत शुन्ध्यवः। उत पुष्या रथानामद्रिं भिन्दुत्योजसा॥," where the Páruṣṇī (the Ravi) is mentioned. The following seven verses have no river names but there is one name in the next one (the last in the hymn) "सुप्त मे सुप्त शाकिन् एकमेका जाता ददुः। यमुनायामधि श्रुतमुद्राधो गव्यं मृजे नि राधो अश्वं च मृजे ॥, where the poet says that he obtained on the Yamunā famous gifts of cows and horses (or gifts of cows and horses famous on the Yamunā). We saw the words Yamunā and Paruṣṇī mentioned in similar contexts in VII, 18. Here too we find the two names in one hymn in such setting that we would not naturally take them to refer to distant and disconnected rivers. Would it be proper to suppose that these two rivers alone have been mentioned here only by the merest chance? Chance in one place is intelligible but in two places makes us pause and think. That Śyāvāśva belonged to the west is conclusively proved by V, 53, 9, मा वो रसानितभा कुभा क्रुमुर्मा वः सिन्धुनि रौरमत्। मा वः परि ष्ठात् सुरयुः पुरीषिण्यस्मे इत्सुन्नमस्तु वः ॥, where only western rivers mentioned. No other river name occurs in the Śyāvāśva collection. The Yamunā of V, 52, 17 cannot therefore be the Jumna. It must be either the Paruṣṇī or some river that has joined it.

If a guess may be hazarded here, I might say that the Yamunā was the Asiknī (= 'Black' according to Yāska



it is very likely that the whole hymn alludes only to that victory. We should therefore take the first verse "युवां नरा पश्यमानासु आप्यं प्राचा गुव्यन्तः पृथुपशवो ययुः । दासा च वृत्रा हतमार्गणि च सुदासमिन्द्रावरुणावशिक्षतम् ॥" to refer to the same incident. "प्राचा गुव्यन्तो ययुः" has been translated by Griffith 'went forward for spoil'. But 'went eastwards for spoil' would be more correct and that is how Sāyaṇa takes it. It was probably from the extreme west of the Punjab that Vasiṣṭha had brought his patron Sudās. R. V. VIII. 96.2 "उभे यत्ते महिना शुभ्रे अन्धसी अघि क्षियन्ति पुरवः" places the Pūrus on the two coasts (अन्धसी = 'grassy banks' according to Grassmann and Griffith) of the Śārasvatī which, I have tried to show above, meant in the Seventh Maṇḍala the river Indus.<sup>88</sup> The Dāśarājña battle was probably fought near the junction of the Pāruṣṇī and the Yamūna (= Āsiknī = Chenab ?)<sup>89</sup>. Before passing on to the incidents in the subsequent life of Sudās, I must notice another point in connection with R. V. VII. 83. In the 8th verse, "दाशराज्ञे परियत्ताय विश्वतः सुदास इन्द्रावरुणावशिक्षतम् । शिवृत्यञ्चो यत्र नमसा कपदिनो घिया घीवन्तो असंपन्तु वृत्सवः ॥" the Vasiṣṭhas call themselves Tṛtsus. Does this mean that they actually belonged to the Tṛtsu family? I think not. They were now partisans of Tṛtsus and hence they characterise themselves as Tṛtsus. We have an exact parallel in VI. 16.4 "त्वामीले अघं द्विता भरतो वाजिभिः शुनम् । ईजे यज्ञेषु यज्ञियम् ॥" where the Bharadvāja priest calls himself a Bharata because he is serving the Bharata (Tṛtsu-Bharata) Divodāsa.<sup>90</sup>

88. Regarding vegetation on the coasts of the Indus in ancient times, I may refer my readers to the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. I, pp. 28-29 referred to above.

89. See above.

90. Compare VI. 16.5 त्वमिमा वीर्या पुरु दिवोदासाय सन्वृते भरद्वाजाय दाशुष्टे ॥

The Vasiṣṭhas were not destined to enjoy long the bounty of king Sudās for the Viśvāmitras managed to step into their shoes. If we study R. V. III. 53 and VII. 104 in the light of the later Brāhmaṇa and Epic legends about the conflicts of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra we cannot help concluding that Viśvāmitra snatched away the *paurohitya* of Sudās from the Vasiṣṭhas tried to avenge themselves for this offence. Whatever may be the exact value of the legend in the Bṛhaddevatā IV, 112-118, it is certain that Viśvāmitra is alluding to a magical effect that had come over him and his recovery from it in R.V. III. 53.15 and 16 : “सुसुपरीरमंति बाधमाना बृहन्मिमां जमदग्निदत्ता । आ सूर्यस्य दुहिता ततान् श्रवो देवेवृमृतमजुयम् ॥ सुसुपरीरभरतूयमेभ्योऽधि श्रवः पाञ्चजनहारं कृष्टिषु ! सा पश्याते नव्यमायुर्दधाना यां मे पलस्तिजमदग्नयो ददुः ॥” The author of the magic may well have been a Vasiṣṭha and it is conceivable that Viśvāmitra is cursing these Vasiṣṭhas in verses 21-23 of R. V. III. 53. It is also conceivable that the Vasiṣṭhas are trying to exculpate themselves and to throw back the curse on its author in VII. 104. 12, 15-25. But the Vasiṣṭhas had lost the favour of Sudās for ever and we may possibly read a lament for this fate and a wish to regain their old importance in VII. 64. 3 “मित्रस्तन्नो वरुणो देवो अर्यः प्र साधिष्ठेभि पृथिभिर्नयन्तु । ब्रवद्यथा न आदुरिः सुदास इषा मदेम सह देवगोपाः ॥” It is probably this wish which in later legends<sup>91</sup> takes the form of Vasiṣṭha’s successful attempt to avenge himself: on the descendants of Sudās.

R. V. III. 53 probably described what Viśvāmitra did after recovering from his swoon (?). He must have led on Sudās for conquest of new lands as is evidenced by

91. Taittiriya Saṃhitā, VII. 4-7. Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, IV 1. Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, IV. 7. 3.



verse 11 : उप॒ प्रेतं॑ कुशिका॒श्वेतय॑ध्वम् अ॒श्वं रा॒ये प्र मु॑ञ्चता॒ सुदा॑तः । राजा  
 वृ॒त्रं ज॑ह्वन्त॒प्राग॒प्रागु॒दुग्धा॑ यजाते॒ वर॑ आ पृथि॒व्याः ॥ It is to lands of  
 prosperous non-Aryans who did not worship the Vedic  
 gods that Viśvāmitra wanted to lead Sudās. Compare  
 verse 14 : “किं ते कृ॒ण्वन्ति॑ की॒कटे॑षु गावो ना॒शिरं॑ दु॒हे न त॑पन्ति घ॒र्मम् ।  
 आ नो॑ भर॒ प्रम॑गे॒न्दस्य॑ वेदो नै॒चाशा॑स्त्रं म॒घवन् र॑न्धया नः ॥”<sup>92</sup> R. V. III.  
 53. 17-20 refer to the march of Viśvāmitra and Sudās  
 and in the concluding verse we have a vaunt of Viśvā-  
 mitra. The verse is “इ॒म इन्द्र॑ भर॒तस्य॑ पु॒त्रा अ॑पि॒त्वं चि॑कितुर्न प्र॒पि॒त्वं ।  
 हि॒न्वन्त्य॑श्व॒मरणं॑ न नित्यं॒ ज्यावा॑जु॒ परि॑ णयन्त्या॒जौ ॥” which probably  
 means that prior to Viśvāmitra’s aid the Bharatas knew  
 only how to retreat (अ॒पि॒त्वं) and not how to advance  
 (प्र॒पि॒त्वं). We have here probably a sneer at Sudās’s  
 victory at the Dāśarājña battle which was perhaps due  
 to a strategic retreat in the form of crossing the rivers  
 Pāruṣṇī and Yamúnā and not to any forward charge, the  
 enemy who had hemmed in Sudās from all sides them-  
 selves being carried away by the current. This is probably  
 what the obscure Dāśarājña hymn (VII. 18) means.

Leading Sudās for conquest of new lands, Viśvāmitra  
 probably brought him to the junction of the Vipās and  
 the Sútudrī. I have already discussed III. 33, the hymn

92. Dr. Abinas Chandra Das in his *Rigvedic India*, Vol. 1., p. 8  
 (and 561) says that Kīkaṭa was barren land where the cattle  
 could not thrive for want of fodder ! Exactly opposite is the  
 view that our text warrants. Dr. Das has overlooked the small  
 but important enclitic ते (= ‘for thee’). The cattle wealth  
 of the Kīkaṭas tempted Viśvāmitra and he prays to Indra that  
 his Aryan worshipper might obtain it—professedly for offering  
 the milk to Indra but actually for personal enjoyment. Dr.  
 Das’s mistake which it is much to be regretted, he has repeated  
 elsewhere, is due to the fact that he studies verses of the  
 R̥gveda dissociating them from contexts.

which gives a dialogue between Viśvāmitra and the two rivers. It is probably to the incident in this hymn that III. 53.9 “महां ऋषिर्देवजा देवजू तोऽस्तमनास्तिन्धुमर्णवं नृचक्षाः । विश्वामित्रो यदवहत्सुदासुप्रियायत कुशिकेभिरिन्द्रः ॥” makes a reference. Sāyaṇa paraphrases स्तिन्धुम् by विपाद्शुतद्रचोः सम्भेदम् and he is most probably right. But little value attaches to his paraphrase of अवहत् by अयाजयत्. It is possible that III. 53 is a contemporary account and by Viśvāmitra himself but III. 33 comes from a descendant of Viśvāmitra who gives a dramatic account of the glorious achievement of his illustrious ancestor. But it may be safer not to dogmatise on the point. I cannot help believing that Viśvāmitra and the Bharatas crossed the rivers Vipāś and Sútudrī from north-west and not from the south-east. After reaching the land later known as Kurukṣetra the Bharatas may have permanently settled there. And we therefore find them located there in later texts. The Bharatas may have given to a rather insignificant stream in their new home the old proud name of Sārasvatī and small wonder that we find two Bharata chiefs speaking of the Sārasvatī in R. V. 23.4 in the same breath with the Dṛṣādvatī and the Āpayā. In still later times the usage of the famous Bharatas made this small stream alone go by the name of Sārasvatī and the Indus lost that old name. We find therefore in R. V. X. 75 the Indus called “Sīndhu” and this small stream in the Madhyadeśa “Sārasvatī”.

N.B.—Muir in his *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I<sup>93</sup>, pp. 373-4 quotes Weber's emphasis on the later disrepute of Sudās among the sacredotal class. I think this adequately explained by the account I have given above of Sudās's

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93. *Compare Manu*, VII. 41 : “वैनो विनष्टोऽविनयान्नहुषश्चैव पार्थिवः । सुदाः पंजवनश्चैव सुमुखो निमिरेव च ॥



treatment of his priests. He abandons his hereditary priests the Bharadvājas for a new family, the Vasiṣṭhas, and these Vasiṣṭhas too in favour of Viśvāmitra who probably did not belong to an old priestly family. There may be some truth in the later legend that Viśvāmitra belonged to a family of Kṣatriyas.<sup>94</sup> Priests would naturally speak ill of such a king, especially in later times when their caste pretensions were so generally recognised.

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94. One reason which inclines me to this tradition is that the Viśvāmitra Maṇḍala shows language and metres distinctly later than those of the old priestly families of the Bharadvājas and the Vasiṣṭhas. See Arnold's *Vedic Metre*, pp. 48, 275 278-28. But the contents of the Third Maṇḍala and the Seventh Maṇḍala are not such that they must needs be separated in time. The most natural explanation for this seems to my mind to be that that Viśvāmitras had taken to verse-making only recently and they therefore could not write in the hieratic language and the antique metres which the Atris, Bharadvājas and Vasiṣṭhas could employ. Viśvāmitra would thus become a new 'Brahmān' (ब्रह्मा), in the old sense of the term = 'singer', 'praiser' if not in its later sense, (= a Brahmin). Viśvāmitra vaunts of his glorious priestly ancestry in III. 39 (compare particularly verses 2 and 4, "द्विष्विन्दा पूर्वा जायमाना वि जाय विविदथे श्रुयमाना । भद्रा वस्त्राण्यर्जुना वसाना सेयम्स्मे सनुजा पित्र्याधीः ॥२॥ नकिरेषां निन्दिता मर्त्येषु ये अस्माकं पितरो गौषु योधाः । इन्द्र एषां दृहिता माहिनावानुद्गोत्राणि समृजे दंसनावान् ॥४॥") simply to impress on people that he was no upstart. But an upstart he probably was in reality for it is to Nāvagvas and Daságvas, a semimythical race of priests, that he can trace his ancestry.

#### II.4

### THE DĀSARĀJŪA BATTLE

विश्वस्य मित्रभूतं तं देवं नत्वा विचारये ।

दाशराज्ञे निमित्तं वा विश्वामित्रमुनिर्न वा ॥

Of the references to historical events that we find in the R̥gveda, the battle between king Sudās of the Tr̥tsu-Bharata clan and a confederacy of Ten Kings on the banks of the Ravi is the best known to students of ancient Indian history. But the words of the hymns (VII, 18; VII, 33; VII 83 &c.) describing or mentioning the battle are so obscure that in spite of efforts of scholars we have understood very little of the actual course of the engagement. The circumstances that led to the fight are also not very clear and various are the surmises that have been made by scholars on this point. The most prevalent view is that Viśvāmitra, being jealous of Vasiṣṭha at his snatching away from him the priestly office of King Sudās, organised against the king this league of the chiefs.<sup>1</sup> When studying the question of some river identifications in the R̥gveda, it has occurred to me that Viśvāmitra could not be held responsible in the matter. In the foregoing essay this point has been touched towards

1. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 275, Keith in *Cambridge History of India* Tol. I, pp. 81-2, Nripendra Kumar Dutt, *Aryanisation of India*, pp- 106-7, Aqinash Chandra Das, *R̥gvedic Culture* pp. 357-9.



the end, but here I propose to discuss in some detail what I feel about Viśvāmitra's responsibility in the matter of the War of Ten Kings.

John Muir, writing in 1872, could not decide for want of sufficient data whether Vasiṣṭha or Viśvāmitra was Sudās's earlier priest.<sup>2</sup> It was therefore impossible for him to dogmatise about Viśvāmitra's responsibility in the Dāśarājña Battle. But the Vedic Index says, Viśvāmitra "was certainly at one time the Purohita (domestic priest) of Sudās, but he seems to have been deposed from that post, to have joined Sudās's enemies, and to have taken part in the onslaught of the kings against him, for the hymn of Sudās's triumph<sup>3</sup> has clear reference to the ruin Viśvāmitra brought on his allies". But are there any certain indications in Ṛv. VII 18 to the effect that Vasiṣṭha was exulting over the discomfiture of Viśvāmitra as a priest of Sudās's enemies? To my mind there is none. That both Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra were at different periods priests of Sudās is certain. But the question to decide is, who came earlier. Epic and Purāṇic tradition represents Vasiṣṭha as an old brahmin priest and Viśvāmitra as acquiring brahminhood and consequent priestly power after great struggle. This change in Viśvāmitra, the tradition further says, was due to his coveting the brahmanical power that Vasiṣṭha could wield as his birth-right. Applied to the Ṛgvedic incident, this should plainly mean that Vasiṣṭha was Sudās's priest earlier than Viśvāmitra. The cow over which the later literature represents Viśvāmitra as fighting with Vasiṣṭha seems to stand for the priestly fees which were given in the

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2. *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. Second Edition, p. 375.

3. Ṛv. VII. 18.

form of cows. Taittirīya Saṃhitā, VII, 4-7,<sup>4</sup> Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, IV. 8, Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, IV. 7.3 represent Vasiṣṭha as wanting to avenge himself on the descendants or people of Sudās for his killing one hundred sons of the sage at Viśvāmitra's instigation. This shows that Viśvāmitra had hold over Sudās after Vasiṣṭha lost his. Manusmṛti, VII. 41 holds out to scorn Sudās Paijavana for disrespect to brahmins and this can hardly be understood if the brahmin Vasiṣṭha came as Sudās's priest after Viśvāmitra who was originally a kṣatriya had been ousted from that office. Consequently we should not *assume* that Viśvāmitra being dispossessed of Sudās's priesthood, tried (unsuccessfully) to show to the king his folly in choosing Vasiṣṭha as his priest by organising a league against him.

From later literature and *a priori* consideration let us turn to that of the Ṛgveda. If Viśvāmitra ever tried to punish Sudās, we should expect in the Third Book of the Ṛgveda some hints against the king or his clan but we find nothing of the kind. In hymn 33 of the Book we find Viśvāmitra taking the Bharatas across the Beas and the Sutlej, seemingly eastward,<sup>5</sup> and hymn 53, which makes reference to this crossing in verse 9 shows from verse II onwards that Viśvāmitra is taking on Sudās to further conquests. These are the only two places in the Third Maṇḍala where we have mention of Sudās or his Bharatas and in both places Viśvāmitra appears as his friend. Further, in III. 23 we find two Bharata princes, Devaśravas and Devavāta mentioned as having kindled fire on the banks of the Sarasvatī,

4. वसिष्ठो हतपुत्रोऽकामयत विन्देय प्रजामभि सौदासान् भवेयमिति etc

5. Notice that Vipāś is mentioned before Śutudrī in hymn.



the Dr̥ṣadvatī and the Āpayā, and this cannot be understood if Viśvāmitra fell out with Sudās and his Bharatas, and tried to ruin him by leading against him a host of ten kings.

I have already mentioned that the details of the battle are not clear. But one thing is sure, that Sudās's adversaries tried to overcome his army by breaking the dam of the Ravi or some such device, but they were themselves carried away by the stream (VII. 18.5 ff.). Sudās seems to have made good his escape by a clever retreat (सखा सखायमतरद्विषूचोः, "the friend Indra rescued his friend Sudās from both the sides" v. 6d). One feels that Viśvāmitra is ridiculing this real retreat which Vasiṣṭha was bragging as victory but to his advice and intercession with Indra, when Viśvāmitra says III. 53 24 that before he joined the Bharatas, they knew only to move off and not to march forward but now they push on their horses in battle as swiftly as the released bow-string.<sup>6</sup> When Vasiṣṭha had joined Sudās's services he too had boasted that before his coming, the Bharatas were like cowherds' sticks, stripped and poor, but as soon as Vasiṣṭha became their priest the Tṛtsu people began to swell.<sup>7</sup> Viśvāmitra's vaunt seems to be a reply to Vasiṣṭha's and is fully justified because Sudās's career as a conqueror and a coloniser of non-Aryan lands (III. 53-14) begins after Viśvāmitra joins him. That the priests in Vedic times were advisers in battle and leaders in colonisation is further corroborated by the well-

6. इम इन्द्र भरतस्य पुत्रा अपपित्वं चिकितुनं प्रपित्वम् ।

हिवन्त्यश्चमरणं न नित्यं ज्यावाजं परिणयन्त्याजो ॥

7. दण्डा इवेद्गोभजनास आसन् परिच्छिन्ना भरता अर्भकासः ।

अभवच्च पुरेता वसिष्ठ आदिश्रुतसूनां विशो अप्रथन्त ॥

known story of Māthava Videgha and Gautama Rāhūgaṇa in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa I. 4.3. 10. It becomes thus extremely difficult to suppose that Viśvāmitra preceded Vasiṣṭha in Sudās's priesthood. Consequently he could not have brought about the League of Ten Kings.

But are there any indications in the R̥gveda as to what priest was watching the interests of Sudās's adversaries when Vasiṣṭha was aiding him ? Probably there are. That both Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha brag that they increased the power and prestige of Sudās and his Bharatas after they joined his services shows that both of them had predecessors in the office. And Vasiṣṭha's predecessors seem to have been the Bharadvājas. They were the priests of Divodāsa (VI. 16. 19 etc)<sup>8</sup> who according to the explicit statement in VII. 18.25b (दिवोदासं न पितरं सुदासः) was the father of Sudās. The Bharadvājas also connect themselves with the Bharatas (VI. 16.4.19) and with a Kṣatraśrī, son of Pratardana (VI. 26.8). Pratardana, we know from other sources, was a son of Divodāsa.<sup>9</sup> Kāthaka Samhitā XXI. 10<sup>10</sup> refers to Bharadvāja having helped Pratardana to get a kingdom. It is clear thus that the Bharadvājas were connected with Sudās's family, but that he himself did not have much to do with them. If he rejected them in favour of the Vasiṣṭhas or they championed the cause of Pratardana's succession instead of his own (K. S. XXI. 10), then it is not impossible that the estranged Bharadvājas should have some hand in the Dāśarājña Battle. The authors of the Vedic Index believe that there is "clear reference (in VII. 18) to

8. आग्निरगाभि भारतो वृत्रहा पुरुचेतनः । दिवोदासस्य सत्पतिः ॥

9. Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, XXVI. 5; Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, III. I.

10. एनेन ह स्म वै भरद्वाजः प्रतर्दनं संनहन्नेति ततो वै स राष्ट्रम् अभवत्  
(=अजयत्).



the ruin Viśvāmitra brought on his allies." We have instead a wish for the conquest of Pūru "of unavailing speech in worship" (विदधे मृध्रवाचम् VII. 18 13). The meaning I assign to मृध्रवाचम् is borne out by VII. 18. 9 [.....सुदास इन्द्रः सुतुर्कां अमित्रानरन्धयन्मानुषे वध्रिवाचः (of impotent speech) and the fact that मुधा, seemingly connected with मृध्र, means in the later language false.' The Bharadvājas seem to be the priests of those Pūrus too (VI. 20.10) and it is not impossible that Sudās's battle had some intimate connection with a feud with the Pūrus,<sup>11</sup> for the hymn describing the battle expresses a wish for the conquest of the Pūrus and another hymn in the same collection (VII. 8. 4) refers to this conquest having been achieved. Any more definite information than this seems at present unavailable in our texts.



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11. I have shown in my *Identification of the R̥gvedic River Sarasvatī* etc., pp. 55-6, that RV. I. 63-7, VI. 20-10 and I. 130. 7 prove that the Bharatas were closely connected with the Pūrus and very likely as a branch of the same clan-

## NAICAŚĀKHA

I intend to discuss in this paper Professor Jarl Charpentier's interpretation of this word,<sup>1</sup> occurring in *Rv.* III, 53, 14,

1. [Professor Charpentier's interpretation of the Vedic word *naicāśākhā* in connection with the interesting extracts which he gives from the Pali *Jātaka* book seems open to objection on several grounds; we may call attention to the following:—

(1) Hillebrandt's ingenious suggestion (the basis of Professor Charpentier's interpretation) that ❖ *nīcāśākha* might be a name of the *Nyagrodha*-tree was only a conjecture: nor is it specially plausible, since down-pointing branches are seen on other growths.

(2) That the *Nyagrodha* which "is found in the Sub-Himalayan forests from Peshawar to Assam" (Watts, *Commercial Products*, p. 537), may have been known to the authors of Vedic hymns is quite credible; but it is not *proved* by the *Rg-Veda* verse i, 24, 7, which Professor Charpentier quotes (after Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, i, 113, and the *Vedic Index*).

(3) Considering the approving mention of the *Nyagrodha* in the two *Atharva-Veda* passages and the others cited in the *Vedic Index*, and the use of its wood for making vessels used in religious ceremonies, it is not likely that "a *Nyagrodha* man" could by itself mean "a performer of horrid rites in connection with a *Nyagrodha*-tree." According to Hillebrandt's citations (1<sup>2</sup>, p. 246, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 31, 2, viii, 16, 2), the *Nyagrodha* was for the Kṣatriyas a symbol of lordship.

(4) If the meaning just stated attached to the word



which no doubt is of great interest and importance, though he has been very modest in the expression of his views. He seems to have made it very likely that it means a people worshipping the banyan-ree. I would like to make a few supplementary remarks in connection with he says.

To *Rv.* I, 24, 7. I would add II, 35,8, as making a very probable reference to the banyan-tree. The verse is :-

*Ū́o apsú á súcinā dáivyena  
rtāvájasra urviyā vibhāti  
vayā́ id anyā́ bhūvanāni asya  
prā jāyante vīrúḍhaś ca prajā́bhīḥ*

All creatures and plants are here described as shooting out from Apām Napāt as his branches and multiplying in progeny, and it is very likely that the poet thinks of the banyan whose *quot rami* are *tot arbores*. As regards the *ásvattha* of *Kāthopanīṣad* vi, I, and *Bhagavad-gītā* xv,1, I believe there is no confusion with, or substitution for, the nyagrodha. It is a cosmic tree and, like cosmic trees in the mythologies of other races, of wondrous nature ; its roots are above—in heaven—and the branches below—covering our world. This eternal *ásvattha* has a certain family connection with the evergreen ash Yggdrasll of Scandinavian mythology, 'the tree of the universe, of time, or of life, which filled all the world, taking root

*naicāśākha* as a synonym for *naiyagrodha*, which latter occurs several times in the Vedic literature (see B. and R.), we should expect to find the same in connection with *naiyagrodha* itself, which is not the case. It is conceivable that *naicāśākha* has some indirect connection with the term *nicā-vayas*, which in *Rv.* I, 32, 9, is applied to the mother of *Vṛtra*, and may here denote *vṛtra* (without the capital letter).—F.W.T.]

not only in the remotest depths of Nifl-heim, where bubbled the spring Hvergelmir, but also in Midgarp, near Mimir's well (the ocean), and in Asgard, near the Urdar fountain" (Guerber, *Myths of the Norsemen*, pp. 12-13).

That the hymn III, 53 is rather obscure is quite true, but much of the difficulty disappears when we recognize that we have actually more than one hymn here. Verses 1-8 form a distinct Indra hymn of the ordinary type and 9-24 an *itihāsa* hymn about Viśvāmitra, the Bharatas and Vasiṣṭha. Professor Charpentier did not want to bother himself about the details of the hymn, since he was concerned with only one word in it, viz. *Naicāśākhā*. But perhaps, its context may tell us a tale about its exact connotation which differs from the one the Jātaka passages tell us. Some time after the famous Dāśarājña battle in which Sudās, king of the Bharatas, successfully fought with a league of ten kings on the Rāvī, with a Viśvāmitra. This led to a quarrel between the Vasiṣṭhas and the Kuśikas. A tradition recorded in the *Brhād-devatā* iv, 112-8, asserts that Vasiṣṭha tried to overwhelm Viśvāmitra by magic, but Jamadagni came to the latter's rescue. This seems to be plainly corroborated by verses 15 and 16 of our hymn. It is possible that the jealousy of the former priests, the Vasiṣṭhas, led Viśvāmitra to induce Sudās to leave the land and march to the south or south-east and settle in a new land. That the family priest (*purohita*) of the Vedic age played a prominent part in the leading of colonizing expeditions is made plain by passages like *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, 4, 1. The party of Viśvāmitra and the Bharatas seems to have come to the Beas and the Sutlej in the course of their wanderings, and III,33 refers to the fording of the two rivers. This seems to be alluded to in III, 53,9.



In III,33,11 and 12 the Bharatas are described as out on a cattle raid (*gavyan* and *gavyavaḥ*), that is, out for conquest, because the cow was the chief wealth in those days and the chief object of attack; cf. the attack on Virāṭa's cow-stall by the Kaurāvas in the *Mbh. Rv.* iii, 50, 17., make reference to the chariots and waggons with their parts and the animals of draught required for the expedition.<sup>2</sup>

In the light of all this it seems plain that verse 14 means that Viśvāmitras wanted to settle with Bharatas in the land of the Kīkaṭas; who the Kīkaṭas were we do not know, but they must certainly have been non-Aryans. It is possible that they were the same people as the Magadhas, of course, prior to their settlement in what was later the Magadha country. Tribes migrated from place to place and gave their own names to the lands in which they settled. It is very likely that Naicāśākhá of line *d*, and Prámaganda of *c*, are identical with the Kīkaṭas. Why Viśvāmitra wanted to conquer the Kīkaṭas was not because they were "averse to the ritual use of milk", but because he wanted to possess their cows. The Kīkaṭas did not follow the Aryan path and they could not, therefore, be expected to offer milk to Indra in the Vedic ritual or even to know anything of this ritual. That their cows served no purpose of Indra is cleverly urged before him as a reason why he should transfer the possession of their cows to the Aryan plunderers, who would devoutly allow the god to share in their spoils. There is thus no genuine righteous indignation in *a* and *b* against the Kīkaṭas for what

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2. For some of the views advanced above about Viśvāmitra and the Bharatas see my "Identification of the R̥gvedic River Sārasvatī and some Connected Problems",

they did or did not do. Similarly, there seems to be no trace of religious abhorrence about the *Naicāśākhā* creed in *d*.

The Aryans in that age could not, of course, follow or appreciate worship of trees<sup>3</sup>; but what ground is there for believing that the bloody sacrifices before banyan-trees referred to in the Jātakas were practised by the Kīkaṣas of Rv. III, 53, 14, or that they repelled Viśvā-mitra? The R̥gvedic Aryan was not made of the same stuff as the holy Buddha, who could not even see an animal killed for sacrifice.

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3. That various Indo-European tribes have been known to worship trees or tree-spirits proves nothing for primitive I.-E. times or even for the Indo-Aryans of the R̥gvedic times. These cults seem to have been borrowed from various non-Aryan peoples in the course of their later wanderings. The Scandinavians even learnt the terrible sacrificing of human being on trees for Odin (see Chadwick, *The Cult of Othin*, pp. 14-20), which Charpentier thinks repelled the author of Rv. III, 53, 14.



## II.6

### DĀSĀ AND DĀSYU IN THE RĠVEDA-SAMHITĀ

नत्वा दाशरथिं रामं रक्षोगणनिषूदनम् ।  
 करोमि निर्णयं यत्नैरर्थस्य दस्युदासयोः ॥  
 ऋग्वेदसंहिताग्रन्थे शब्दावेतौ किमर्थकौ ।  
 विषयेऽत्र महान् भेदः प्राच्यपाश्चात्ययोर्मते ॥  
 असुरार्थाविति प्राहुः प्राचीनमतकोविदाः ।  
 पाश्चात्याः पण्डितास्त्वाहुरनार्यार्थाविमौ ध्रुवम् ॥  
 एतयोर्मतयोर्मध्ये कतरच्छ्रुतिसङ्गतम् ।  
 इत्येतन्निर्णयः कार्यः पक्षपातं विनाश्रुता ॥  
 पाश्चात्यं तु मतं तत्र कल्पनामात्रमूलकम् ।  
 न तथा सायणादीनां सम्मतावप्रमाणता ॥  
 निष्पन्नं दस्युतेर्धातोरसुरार्थं तु तद्वयम् ।  
 श्रुतिमीमांसया ह्येतत् सिद्धं सर्वे निबोधत ॥  
 अर्थान्तरमपार्थस्तु न तत्र श्रुतिसङ्गतिः ।  
 प्रीयतामनया कृत्या भगवान् वेदपुरुषः ॥

European scholars have inaugurated the study of our ancient texts from a historical point of view and have taught us to believe that the earliest Indian text, the *Rgveda-Samhitā*, abounds in references to the tussle between the Aryans and the aborigines. It is generally supposed in the west and in India too that the latter are referred to in this text by the terms *dāsa* and *dasyu*. Roth recognized that the original meaning of these two terms was "demon" but the sense for "barbarian"<sup>1</sup> or

1. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Vol. III, Columns 557-8 and 604-5.

"Non-Aryan" was also obtained by extension. But other scholars began emphasizing more and more the latter meaning<sup>2</sup> and it is usual now to take this as the rightful signification<sup>3</sup>. It is often forgotten that the terms ever meant "demon". The word *dāsa* is connected with *Dahae*, the name of a people and *dasyu* with Iranian *Dahyu*, *dahyu*, *daiehu*, meaning "province"<sup>4</sup>. *Dāsā* meaning "Non-Aryan" has also been connected with *dāsa*, sometimes meaning in the *Rgveda-Saṁhitā* and always in the classical language, "slave", "servant", like *slave* and *Slave* and it is supposed that the latter meaning of "slave" or "servant" is due to the subjection to slavery by the Aryan conquerors of the aborigines. Similarly the latter meaning of *dasyu* as "robber" has been connected with the Vedic *dasyu*, the name of the aborigines who toughly resisted Aryan encroachment and often made attacks on their settlements. From the description of *Dāsās* and *Dāsyus* in the *Rgveda-Saṁhitā* conclusions have been drawn about the appearance and character of the aborigines with whom the Aryans had to deal.

Indian tradition has, however, interpreted the two words in the *Rgveda-Saṁhitā* as meaning "destroyer" or "demon" or simply "foe", meanings which suit a good many passages. Some time ago I had occasion to study with reference to their contexts all the passages in which

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2. See Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, pp. 347-9 and 356-8.
  3. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 84-6, Masson-Oursel, Willman-Grabowska and Stern, *Ancient India and Indian Civilization*, p. 19 et passim, etc,
  4. See *Vedic Index*, loc. cit., Bartholomew, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 710 etc.



that Indian tradition is here essentially correct. The words occur separately 148 times in the *R̥g-Saṁhitā* and in compounds as proper names, or derivatives from them, Divodāsa or Daivodāsa, Trasadasyu or Trāsadasyava, 33 times. A careful study of these passages showed that the words *dāsá* and *dasyu* have been used as exact synonyms in the text. Confining ourselves to the passages where they occur outside compounds, we find that in a vast majority of cases the context clearly that "demons" are meant. Well-known demons like Śuṣṇa, Ahi, Śambara, Namuci etc. have been called *dāsa* or *dasyu*. The waters released by Indra have been described as formerly lorded over by *dāsas*. Indra (sometimes Agni and once or twice the Aśvins) brings light or happiness for *man* by destroyyng *dāsas* or *dasyus*. Indra overpowers the dark broods of the *dāsas* or *dasyus* with the light of the Sun. He uses his thunderbolt against them and he receives the assistance of the Maruts or other allies in his fight with them. His fight with these beings is described in the same breath as his other cosmic feats. In brief the impression that is left in the mind of the careful reader of these passages is that the *dāsas* or *dasyus* were enemies, who were worth Indra's steel.

Such descriptions can hardly suit human adversaries of Indra's worshippers. Readers of the *Iliad* and other works by the ancient Greeks may be used to descriptions of fight between gods and men on a footing of equality but when they read such thoughts in the *R̥gveda Saṁhitā* they do great violence to the text. The R̥gvedic gods are very much above men and they are not so anthropomorphic as the gods in Greek literature. Consequently we should try to understand Vedic references to the doings of the Vedic gods in the light of the Vedas. The light

that we thus obtain is intensified from parallels in other countries. The reference to overpowering the *dāsas* or *dasyus*=demons by the light of the sun, e. g., has an interesting parallel in Teutonic folk-stories in which the Trolls are uniformly described as bursting at the sight of the Sun or of Fire.<sup>2</sup> It can never be claimed that the Non-Aryans could not stand the sight of either of these lights. The impression that is left in the mind of the careful student of the Hymns of the R̥gveda is that the authors were very much in dread of the *dāsas* and *dasyus*. This cannot be understood if the latter mean the aborigines. The fear ought to have been felt by the other party. The Aryans, with their better physique, due to life in more northern climes, and to their superior instruments of war, including the swift horse must have had an easy victory over the Pre-Aryans and we would not expect that they would be in constant dread of these vanquished natives. The fear that the *R̥k-Saṃhitā* shows is the same as found in the *Brāhmaṇas*, and the same practically the world over, viz., against "demons" supposed to exist and to do considerable harm to man. Demons would certainly make fit adversaries for the gods, particularly of Vedic gods, Indra.

The reason why these two words have not been understood in this obviously natural sense is that the *Dāsas* or *Dasyus* have been described at several places as not worshipping or not sacrificing (*a-karman*, *a-devayu*, *a-brahman*, *a-yajvan*, *a-yajña*, *a-vrata*, *anya-vrata* etc.). It is supposed that they must, therefore, be Non-Aryans, not following the Vedic cult. But is this conclusion

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2. See Thorpe, *Tale-tide Stories* (Bohn), pp. 71, 73, 34, 140, 222, 293.



inevitable? These beings have also been called "the divine" (*a-deva*) and "not human" (*a-mānuṣa*), which shows that they were something between men and gods, i. e., they were demons. Then, cannot demons be described as "not sacrificing"? How are then gods described in the *Brāhmaṇas* as sacrificing? If the gods are capable of worship, their counter-entities, the demons, should be conceived as not worshipping. We find it said about the Seven Demons of Babylonia, "They pour no libations of oil (?) nor offer sacrifices"<sup>3</sup>. Similarly different tribes of the *jinh* in Morocco are supposed to have different religions<sup>4</sup>. That the *dāsa varṇa* is described as put below by Indra need not show that we have an ethnic connotation here. There are several passages in Vedic literature showing that the demons were placed below the earth and many are the parallels from other countries for this idea.<sup>5</sup>

3. R. Campbell Thompson, *The Devils and Spirits of Babylonia*, Tol I, p. 187.
4. E. Westermarck, *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilisation*, p. 21.
5. Cf. *R̥k-Saṃhitā* T. 32. 7 in which Indra is described as making the *dānava* placed below all creatures (*viśvasya janitor adhamān cakāra*) after hurling the thunderbolt at him. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa* V. 1.92, in which a demon is described as kept crushed underneath by the submarine rock Maināka at the instance of Indra, and the story of Bali and Vāmana in the *Purāṇas*. See, further, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* 85.25, where Caṇḍikā sends a message to the demons, Śumbha and Niśumbha, ordering them to go to *Pātāla* ('the nether world') and *ibid.*, 89.32, where the demons are described as retreating to *Pātāla* after Śumbha and Niśumbha are killed. Cf. also *Yasna* IA. 15. where Zarathuṣtra is described as having hidden under the earth all demons who used formerly to walk about in human likeness. Westermarck says about the

That the Dāsās or Dasyus are black in colour is but a natural conception, for the gods are “the bright ones”, and their adversaries must be “the dark ones”. It is a common notion that the Dāsas or Dasyus have been described as ‘noseless’ and this has been taken as referring to the snub-nosed aborigines. So confident have scholars felt on this point that they have asserted on the basis of this that “the Rigvedic evidence does not favour” the view that the Brahuis of Baluchistan represent the old Dravidian type better than the natives of South India<sup>6</sup>. But what is the exact “Rigvedic evidence”? It is only in one single passage’ V. 29. 10 that the *dasyus* have been called *anāsaḥ* “noseless”. The context clearly shows that we have to understand “demons” here too. Then how is it known that Ancient Dravidians were snub-nosed? It would be a libel on the physiognomy of the present day Dravidians to characterise them as snubnosed. Their nasal index is not much different from that of North Indians. It is even less than 77.<sup>7</sup> And then why drag in the hypothetical Old Dravidians into our controversy? We have now some idea of the ancient inhabitants of the Punjab and of Sind whom the Vedic Aryans must have met. The figures found at Mohenjo-daro show fairly prominent noses (fig.1).<sup>8</sup> Then demons have been described so often in the *Rk-Saṁhitā* as possessing physical deformities that we should not seek for an ethnical connotation in

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*Jinn* of Morocco: “Their native country is, properly speaking, under the ground” (op. cit., p.5).

6. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 85, n. 1.

7. Haddon, *Races of Man*, p. 21.

8. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. III, pl. XCVIII 3,4 and *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1925-26*, pl. XLIIIa. Vol. I, p. 357.



*anāsah* of V. 29. 10 They are described as *hand-less*, *feet-less*, *shoulder-less* etc. We can similarly understand



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2,

the epithet *nose-less*. In fact modern Indian (e. g. in Bengal) folklore knows certain goblins as actually having only a hole for their nose and speaking in nasal twang. Demons in Babylonia have been represented with mere knobs for their noses.<sup>9</sup> Consequently the flat-nosed Dravidian warranted by Vedic evidence exists only in the imagination of some Western scholars.

These mistakes by scholars are due to a failure to keep in mind the whole of the Vedic literature and the lessons of comparative ethnology. There are, however, some passages which create a real difficulty in the way of taking *dāsa* and *dasyu* as meaning "demon". They are those verses in which either of these words is used by the side of *arya*, sometimes by way of contrast. As we take *ārya* to mean "Aryan" would it not be natural to take *dāsa* or *dasyu* as "Non-Aryan"? Such passages are comparatively few in number. Still they must be explained. Now, among many of these passages, the

9. See the figures of Babylonian demons in M. Jastrow *Bilder-mappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*; Tafel 20 and Thompson, *op. cit.*, Frontispiece.

context definitely shows that *dāsa* or *dasyu* must mean a “demon”, e. g. in I. 117. 21 *cd* the *dasyu* whom Indra blows off to bring in light for the *ārya* must be a crop-demon. Consequently *ārya* here should not mean an Aryan. What does it mean then? Perhaps the “plough

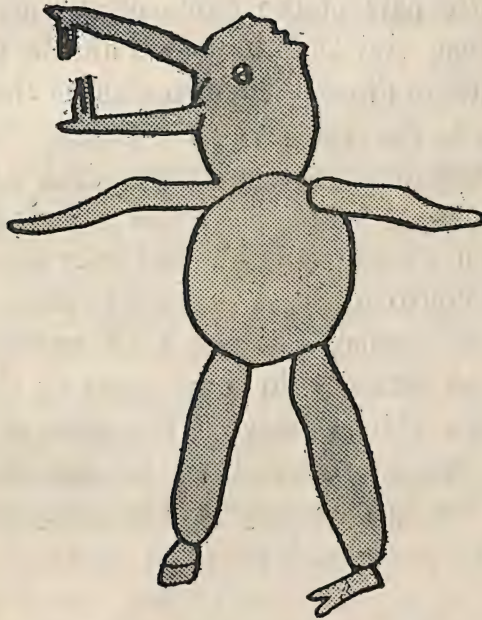


Fig. 3.

man”. In later Sanskrit *ārya* meant only a good man and that is the meaning of the element *ari*-in the cognate Greek word *árcstos*. In fact the sense of “good or pious man” or “devoted worshipper” suits most of these passages. But in I. 59. 2 the required sense is simply “man”, which may also suit I. 117. 21 and a number of other passages. Consequently there is no cogent ground for rejecting “demon” as the universal meaning of the terms *dāsa* and *dasyu* in the *R̥k-Samhitā*. These *Dāsas* and *Dasyus* thus seem to correspond to the *Asuras* (=demons) of the later



Vedic texts<sup>10</sup>. Then as regards the etymology of the terms *dāsa* or *dāsyu*, why need we go out of India if we find light here? The *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā* contains the root *das(dās)*, “to lay waste”, of which several conjugational forms and derivatives occur<sup>11</sup>. *Dāsa* anq *dasyu* could easily have come from this root. We may also think of *dahāka* part of the name of the great fiend in the Iranian Saga, Azi Dahāka (= *ahi dāsaka* in Sanskrit), as the cognate of *dāsa*. The place name *Dacia* and not this *dāsa* may be the true cognate of *Dahae*. Consequently there is no difficulty in assigning to *dāsa* and *dasyu* in our text the sense of “demon”. *Dāsa* meaning “slave” or “servant” occurs very seldom<sup>12</sup> and may be, for all that we know, etymologically a different word altogether. From *dasyu*, = “demon”, we can have easily the sense of “enemy”, as actually in some cases of the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*<sup>13</sup>, from which passage to the sense of “province” as opposed to “home-country” in the Iranian word *dasyu*, through that of “foreign territory”, can be easily understood<sup>14</sup>.



10. The word *asurā* occurs 108 times in the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā* and it bears the sense of “god” or “God” or “lord” in 94 cases and that of “demon” in only 14 late passages.

11. See Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for Students* p. 388.

12. In I. 92.8, VII. 86.7, VIII. 46.32 and X. 62.10.

13. E. g. IV. 28.4, where *dāsyūn* in line a corresponds to *śatrūn* (‘enemies’).

14. See Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 110.

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